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THE
INTEREST of EUROPE,

With Respect to

Peace and War.

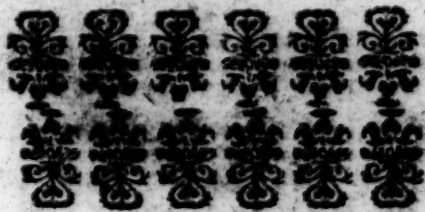
Wherein is consider'd,



I. Whether it be safe for the ALLIES to
make a Peace in this Conjunction.

II. Upon what Conditions a Lasting Peace
may be expected.

III. The Means for Obtaining such
Conditions.



L O N D O N,

Printed for S. POPPING at the Raven in Paternoster-Row.

M. DCC. XII.

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T O

My Lord *****.

May it please Your Lordship ;

IF any thing can justify the Presumption of this Address, it is the Importance of the Subject, which may render it worthy of Your Lordship's most serious and mature Attention; since the Happiness of these Kingdoms has so great a Dependence on their Governors Apprehensions of the Circumstances of their Enemies.

MY LORD,

It has always been my Opinion, that the Potentates engag'd in this Alliance would meet with great Difficulties in attempting to over-match the Power and Policy of the *French* King, unless proper Measures were taken to touch him in the sensible Part. Whether I have merited any thing of my Country
by

by the Hints I have given in the following Sheets, is humbly submitted to your Lordship's Determination. If it may be allow'd that I have succeeded as happily in handling of the Matter, as in the Choice of a Patron, I am sure the Publick would have reason to be well-pleas'd with the Endeavours of,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most Humble,

Most Obedient, and

Most Devoted Servant.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THO the First Edition of this Book appear'd a Year or two since, 'tis thought a fresh Publication of it can't be unseasonable, since so many things of the utmost Importance are here handled with respect to a lasting Peace.

THE P R E F A C E.

THE Blessings of Peace are so many and so valuable, that nothing is more natural than to wish for the Enjoyment of them. But as it is the Thing, and not the Name of Peace only that is desirable, the Design of this short Tract is to convince such of my Countrymen as are not already sensible of it, that it is not yet time to conclude a Peace, except we should suffer our selves to be deluded into such a one, as would in all probability entail upon us greater Miseries than those we have hitherto undergone.

That in my private Capacity I have adventur'd to suggest my humble Sentiments on so great a Subject, is principally owing to the Desire I have of being serviceable to my Country, and not to any vain Presumption of my Ability. What I have deliver'd as of my own Knowledg, I dare affirm to be true in the strictest Sense. My Conjectures and Apprehensions of Things must of course have the same fate with all other Discourses expos'd to the Publick View,

View, where they are variously receiv'd according to the different Interests and Inclinations of Men and Parties. And as for the Historical Remarks, I hope no great Reason will be found to make any material Objection against them.

I shall say little to the Stile and Method, which must be submitted to other Judgments. Every Subject can't be handled with equal Fluency; nor did I so much attend to the Cadency of Words and Smoothness of Expression, but that I must acknowledg that more leisure might have made the Piece more polite. However, such as it is you have it; I hope I have writ so as to be understood, and only wish the thing may be of as much Service to the Nation, as it was intended by the Author.

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Some

Some Thoughts on Peace and War, &c.

I Am in this Discourse to consider these three Points :

- I. Whether it may be the Interest of the Allies to conclude a Peace on the present Conjuncture.
- II. Upon what Conditions it may be safe to make a Peace.
- III. By what Method the Advantages already obtain'd may be best improv'd, for the easier procuring such Conditions.

I. It is an old Observation, and a true one, That the *French* have for the most part repair'd by their Craft and Subtlety in Negotiations, the Losses they have sustain'd in War; and I am afraid we shall have more reason than ever to say so, if a Peace be concluded upon the Terms that are now, or have been lately propos'd by *France*.

To make this the clearer, I shall endeavour to evince, that altho the whole Monarchy of *Spain*, and its Dependencies in *Europe* and the *Indies*, and all the other Usurpations the *French* have made since the Death of *Lewis XIII.* were fairly restor'd to the Owners; the Princes of *Europe* would have little reason to expect to be secure from fresh Encroachments, except the Power of the King at home be reduc'd to its antient and legal Bounds.

The Kingdom of *France* is so rich in it self, and produces so vast a quantity of the most valuable Merchandizes and Commodities; and Commerce and Navigation have been of late so vastly improv'd by the excellent Laws establish'd for that purpose and the Encouragement given to Trade; that were it possible that Nation could be so far exhausted as not to have a Million of Money in the Kingdom, yet give them but ten years Peace and Trade, and they will be able once again to wrestle for the Universal Empire, for which they have from the time of *Francis I.* so eagerly contended.

Champagne, *Burgundy*, *Languedoc*, *Guienne*, *Sainteonge*, *Poitou*, the Countries about *Nantes* and *Rochel*, and most other Provinces of the Kingdom, produce the best and the greatest abundance of Wine, Brandy and Vinegar that can be had in the World; and generally speaking, they are also very fertile in Grains and Fruits.

Lions and *Tours* can challenge *Europe* to compare with them for Brocards, and Gold, Silver and Silk Manufactures of most sorts; and in several they do exceed the *Italians*.

Amiens, *Abbeville* and several other Places are arriv'd to a great Length in manufacturing and dressing Broad-Cloth; and they make at *Nimes*, and elsewhere in *Languedoc*, and other Provinces of *France*, better Serges, Druggets and other thin Woollen Stuffs, than are any where else to be found.

It is well known that the Provinces of *Britany* and *Picardy* are famous for the great Quantities of Linen of all sorts which they produce.

At *Rouen* and *Caudebec*, they make Hats cheaper and more serviceable than any other Place in *Europe* can afford.

The finest Paper in the World is made in the *French* Dominions.

Moulin and *Chatelleraut* are very famous for hard Ware and Toys.

No Nation produces better Confections than *France*.

At *Sedan* and other Places they make the best small Arms that can any where be found.

They drive a great Trade at *Bordeaux*, and other Parts, for Walnut-Tree, Cork, &c.

At *Diep*, *Nantes*, and *Rochel*, and several other Ports, they have mightily improv'd the Fishing-Trade in the *European* Seas; and to what length they have brought that so valuable Branch of Commerce in *Newfoundland*, those of this Nation who deal that way can give the best account.

They lie much better than we for the *Turky* and all the *Mediterranean* Trade; and their Advance in the *East* and *West-India* Trade, are sufficient to make *Britain* and *Holland* jealous: Tho I must indeed confess, that if we gave such Encouragement to Commerce as they have done, we might easily recover the Ascendant we have formerly had over all *Europe*, and especially over them in that great Point. But I shall leave the Discussion of that Affair, and conclude with this one remarkable Observation, That I myself know five or six Towns in *France*, either of which I believe does now yearly set out more private Ships of two hundred Tuns and upwards, than all the Kingdom could produce in the beginning of the present Reign.

Now I shall refer it to the impartial Reader to judg, what an ambitious Monarch, commanding so vast a number of indigent Gentry, may not undertake, as long as he is Master of all the Money in the Kingdom.

But if the Power of the Monarch was reduc'd to its antient Bounds, the Nobility and the People restor'd to their native Privileges, and the Disposal of their Purses put in the hands of the States of the Kingdom, as till of late it ever was and ought to be; the neighbouring Nations might have some reason to expect such a Security for their Repose, as I

humbly

humbly presume to affirm, they cannot possibly obtain upon any other Foundation whatsoever : From whence I crave leave to conclude, That it does not seem to me to be the Interest of the Allies in general, and particularly of her *British* Majesty, to agree to a Peace on any other Terms.

But because it will be expected that I should give some further Proof than a bare Assertion in a Matter of this Importance, I shall crave leave briefly to remind the Reader of some Passages of the *French* History, from whence it will evidently appear, how far I am from exaggerating their native Strength, in the Account here given of it.

Altho the heavy Wars they had maintain'd, without any considerable Interruption, for upwards of 150 Years, against *England, Naples, Sicily, Milan, Burgundy, Britany, &c.* should in all appearance have exhausted them to the last degree, yet *Francis* I. coming to the Throne young, and full of Ambition, and looking with an envious Eye upon the Promotion of *Charles* V. to the Empire, to which he himself had strenuously aspir'd, he laid hold of the first Pretence he could meet with to declare War against that brave Emperor : and notwithstanding all the Power of the House of *Austria*, then in its very Meridian of Glory, he made himself Master more than once of the Dutchy of *Milan*, to which he had some old Pretensions ; and once, if not oftner, of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Nor had he perhaps at last been overcome without much more difficulty, and may be not at all, if he had not been weakned by the defection of the Constable *de Bourbon* ; a Prince of mighty Power and Merit, whose ill Usage at Court occasion'd his Revolt to the Emperor, and brought on all the Misfortunes that befel King *Francis* ; and particularly his being taken Prisoner, and his Army quite overthrown at the Battle of *Pavia*.

In short, during this King's whole Reign, which was about thirty years, he carry'd on an almost continual War against all the Power of the House of *Austria*, and upon his Decease left the Quarrel, with the Crown, to his Son *Henry* II. who having laid hold of the Occasion of the Troubles arising in *Germany* upon the account of the Reformation, made himself Master of the Cities and Bishopricks of *Metz, Toul, and Verdun* (of which the *French* remain in possession to this day) and afterwards made Peace.

Now if it be consider'd, That the whole Power of the House of *Austria*, since divided into two Branches, was then united in the Person of that mighty Emperor, the greatest Hero of the *Austrian* Race ; that besides the *Low Countries*, which they then possess'd entire as far as *St. Omers*, the County of *Burgundy, Roussilon, Alsace*, and many other Places now enjoy'd by the *French*, were in their hands : it must be acknowledg'd that the *French* Power must have been of it self prodigious great.

Henry II. being dead, and the short Reign of his Son *Francis* II. being also ended with his Life, the Civil Wars follow'd between *Charles* IX. and

his Protestant Subjects, of whom upwards of 100000 perish'd in the crue Massacre of *Paris*, and elsewhere; upon which fresh Commotions ensued. Then came the Holy League, which most miserably rent the Kingdom, insomuch that the War was carry'd on in the time of *Henry III.* almost in every Province. The *Spaniards* were not only introduc'd into the Frontiers, but into the Heart of the Kingdom; and such Desolations attended all the unhappy Reign of that Prince, and the ten first Years of *Henry IV.* as were sufficient to ruin any Nation in *Christendom* but that. Yet see the wonderful Riches of that fruitful Soil! After they had been imbroil'd in forty Years War, and during one half of the time had been imbruing their hands in one another's Blood within the Kingdom, the Peace being made with *Spain* in 1598. at *Vervins*, altho then they had not any Fleet at all, and scarce any foreign Trade, yet in twelve Years time the Kingdom was brought again to such a flourishing Condition, and withal the King's Coffers so well provided, that he rais'd an Army, which made all his Enemies tremble, and design'd no less than to have new-model'd *Europe*; which in all probability he might have done, if he had not been assassinated by the Traitor *Ravaillac*, when he was just ready to march at the head of his numerous Troops into the Empire, and had two or three other Armies in several Places of *France*, to put his grand Design in execution on the side of *Italy* and *Spain*.

And if we bring the Story down to the present time, we shall be yet more sensible of that Truth. *Lewis XIII.* had scarce ended his Wars with his Protestant Subjects, when in the Year 1635. he declar'd War against the Emperor, which lasted with the Empire till 1648. and with *Spain* till 1659. and yet in 1667. *France* was ready to begin a new War; which being forc'd, by the Triple League between *Britain*, *Holland*, and *Sweden*, to bring to an end at the Treaty of *Aix la Chappelle* in 1668. they began again with the *Dutch* in 1672. and maintain'd the War against them, and against the Emperor, and the Kings of *Spain* and *Prussia*, who came to their Assistance, till 1678. But not having yet their Fill, notwithstanding the Devastations they made in their own Country, and the great Decay of the Revenue and Commerce of the Kingdom, by the barbarous Persecution of the *Protestants* in 1685. and 1686. they again invaded the Empire in 1689. and with how much Vigour they have maintain'd that and the present War against so many powerful Princes, is so well known to every body, that I don't apprehend it necessary to say any more of the Matter: Being perswaded that there is not any reasonable Man alive, who, upon the perusal of what is above, will not readily acknowledg my Assertion to be true, That as long as the Prince is the absolute Master of the Riches of such a Kingdom, there will be very little Security for the Peace of *Europe*, which must depend solely upon the precarious Foundation of his Majesty's Moderation. For

as to the *French* (now worse than *Punic*) Faith, I believe few private Persons would care to depend upon it, for their own Fortunes; much less can it be thought, that so many powerful Nations will trust to such an airy Security for their Liberties, or rather for their very *Being*.

II. I come now to the second Point, viz. What Conditions may be requisite for establishing a solid and lasting Peace?

To this I shall answer with all Freedom, and yet with due Submission to superiour Judgments, That I conceive these following to be necessary.

1st. The Restitution of *Spain* and its Dependencies.

There was lately a Story in some of the Prints, that the *French* were about proposing an Equivalent to K. *Philip* to quit *Spain*. 'Tis true, that Court has always been very fertile in inventing Equivalents: But with their leave, I can't see in what Prince's power it is, or that it is in the power of all the Princes in *Europe*, to give any real Equivalent for *Spain*, without resigning their own Dominions. However, if they call *Naples* and *Sicily* an Equivalent, I hope the Allies will consider well of it, before they agree to part with them. Nay to me 'tis a question, whether it were not more for the Interest of *Europe*, or at least might not one day prove so, to let K. *Philip* keep what he has; since 'tis certain, that as King of *Naples* and *Sicily* only, he and his Posterity must for ever depend upon *France* for Protection: whereas were he King of all *Spain*, and his Grandfather and Father dead (or perhaps sooner) he might think himself as great a Man as his Brother, scorn any Dependence upon him, and take such measures with other Princes, as might best secure him and his from the encroaching Temper of his Relations, to which he cannot be a stranger. Nor is he believ'd, by those that know him, to be a Prince that will overlook his own Interests, more than needs must.

2^{dly}. The effectual Restitution of all that has been usurp'd upon *Lorain*. And to render that Duke the more Independent upon *France*, and thereby at liberty on all occasions to take such Measures as may best suit with his own Interest and that of *Europe*; 'twere well if the most Christian King were oblig'd to renounce the Sovereignty of the Dutchy of *Barr*, by which his Highness of *Lorain* is kept in awe. Nor would this be too great an Equivalent for the many Violences and Depredations committed by the *French*, without any shadow of Right or Justice, upon the Dominions of the present Duke and his Predecessors.

3^{dly}. A sufficient Barrier for the *Empire*, *Spain*, the *Dutch*, and the Duke of *Savoy*; and all other necessary Satisfaction to all the Allies.

4^{thly}. That the Succession in the Protestant Line be a principal Article of the Treaty, and all the Allies be made Guarantees to it; and that the Pretender and the young Lady at *St. Germain*s be oblig'd to retire to *Rome*, or some other convenient Place remote from us; and neither of 'em be ever suffer'd to match in *France*.

5^{thly}.

5thly. And as it may not perhaps be thought the Interest of this Nation, to have an Equivalent in the late Conquests in the *Low Countries*, for their vast Expence in the War; That we have the sole Sovereignty of *Newfoundland* and *St. Christophers*; good Security for their *East* and *West-India* Trade; and that the *French* consent that we have *Gibraltar*, *Ceuta*, and *Port Mahon*, or what other Settlements about the *Straits* may be thought convenient for securing our Commerce on that side. And it would be well if we could oblige them not to augment their Fleet, or if they could be brought to some reasonable Acknowledgment of our Dominion in the Narrow Seas.

Thus have I only briefly hinted at the five preceding Articles; most of which have been so fully consider'd by other Hands, that I shall leave them, to speak a little more particularly to the sixth and great Point; which has not been at all, or but very superficially treated of by any body, at least as far as I have heard: tho without obtaining it in the whole, or in good part, I humbly conceive, *That no Peace that can be made, will secure us from having the same game to play over again before the Stakes be well drawn.* And that is,

6thly. The reducing of the *French* King's Power in his own Dominions to its just and legal Bounds; at least such as it was exerted by *Henry IV.* at the time of his granting the Edict of *Nantes*.

But for the better explaining of this Article, I shall divide it into these three Branches.

First, That the King be oblig'd to reduce his Troops to a certain Number, not to be exceeded in time of Peace, nor in War without the Consent of the States of the Kingdom, nor to be kept up longer than they think fit. For as long as the Prince may keep as many Mercenaries a-foot as he pleases, neither his Subjects nor his Neighbours can be secure.

Secondly, That all the antient Rights, Liberties, and Franchises of the Estates of the Kingdom, Parliaments and inferiour Courts of Judicature, and of the Princes, the Nobility; and in short, of all the People, be restor'd.

Thirdly, That all the Edicts in favour of the *Protestants* be reviv'd, and Security given for their Continuance; and that the Allies, or as many of them as may think fit (especially the Queen, the King of *Prussia*, the Elector of *Hanover*, the Prince of *Hesse*, and the States General) be Guarantees to this Treaty: to which the Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland* may also be invited.

The Reduction of the King's Troops, for the Reasons above hinted, is a Point so indisputably necessary for making way for the Peoples Liberty, that nothing more needs be said to it.

The Restitution of the Liberties and Privileges of the Subject, would establish such a Ballance of Power within the Kingdom, by the Revival of their

their antient Convention of the * Estates, which is the Basis of their Constitution, as would be a certain and perpetual Check to the Ambition of the Court.

And the Resettlement of the *Protestants* in their legal Rights, and withal the Restitution of their Cautionary † Towns, would put it in their power to hold the Ballance even between the King and the States, as they did in the time of the famous pretended *Holy League*, under *Henry III.*

But here I foresee an Objection, easily to be remov'd upon an impartial Consideration of the Matter of Fact, tho I know it has generally prevail'd with those that take things upon trust.

'Twill be pretended that the Reestablishment of the *Protestants* will certainly ruin the Publick Liberty; That they will cast the ballance on the side of the Court, and will be for advancing the Prerogative, as 'tis alledg'd they always were; and that they are by Principle such submissive Votaries to their Prince's Pleasure, that nothing can be expected of them that may savour of Disrespect to the Court.

This is all Illusion and Error. — For whatever might be the Cant of some of their late fawning Clergy, and treacherous and debauched Chiefs, the right old *French Protestants* did always act on sounder Principles; nor did they at all become Sticklers for the Prerogative, till they were forc'd to shelter themselves under it, from the inevitable Destruction with which they were threaten'd by the *Guisian* Faction, which then prevail'd amongst the People.

The Reformation began in that Kingdom under *Francis I.* who being restrain'd by his continual Wars with the Empire and *Spain* from taking those Measures he would probably have taken to suppress it, left it on the growing hand to his Son *Henry II.* He was in his own Principle (as all his Family prov'd afterward) an irreconcilable Enemy to the Reformation; and being further prompted to their Destruction by his *Italian* Queen *Catherine de Medicis*, the Reform'd suffer'd cruel Persecutions under his Reign, and would have suffer'd many more, if a sudden || Stroke had not remov'd him to another World before his time, to give an account of his Actions in this.

* Such a Representative of the Nation as our British Parliament, but sitting all in one House, as they us'd to do in Scotland.

† Certain Cities assign'd them for their Security, which not only afforded them a safe Communication between the Provinces where they were most numerous, but open'd a Passage for receiving Succours by Rochel on the Ocean, from foreign Powers; and especially their old Protectors, the English.

|| He was kill'd by a Splinter of a Lance, which hit him in the Eye, running against the Count of Montgomery, at a publick Jousting, upon the occasion of the Marriage of one of his Daughters to the King of Spain, and of his Sister the Lady Margaret to the Duke of Savoy.

Upon his Death, the Reformed Church had some Relaxation of their Sufferings. His Son *Francis II.* who had taken to Wife *Mary Queen of Scotland*, did not outlive him above nineteen Months, or thereabouts. And the Crown then falling to *Charles IX.* a Minor, the Queen Mother assum'd the Administration, contrary to the Laws of *France*, which assign the Guardianship to the first Prince of the Blood, who was *Anthony King of Navarre*, a *Protestant*; who was supported by the Prince of *Conde*, of the same Religion, and next Prince of the Blood. This occasion'd such Animosities between the Queen's Party and theirs, as gave the *Protestants* time to get surer footing; insomuch that even the King's Brother *Henry Duke of Anjou*, in his tender years, was a *Protestant*. But the thing being discover'd to the Queen Mother, who by her *Italian Policy* had got the ascendant over the Princes, she put her Son in such hands, as brought him up to be one of the bitterest Enemies that his old Friends the *Protestants* ever had. This devilish Queen in a little time turn'd the Court into a College of Sorcery, Magick, Necromancy, and all manner of Lewdness and Debauchery: yet finding her self unable in the then Circumstances of Affairs to put any stop to the Growth of the Reformation, the confus'd State of the Kingdom laid the Court for that time under the necessity of calling a sort of Ecclesiastical Assembly at *Poissy*, where after many Disputes between the *French* and foreign Divines, who were invited thither from *Geneva* and other places, they could not avoid allowing the *Protestants* Liberty of Conscience.

But as this was only an *Italian Bait* to extirpate them with more ease under the colour of Friendship, the Court did not long refrain from such Infractions of the Liberty granted by a solemn Edict to the *Protestants*, as occasion'd long and bloody Wars, manag'd on the side of the Court under the Queen Mother, by her dearly beloved Son and late *Prophete*, the Duke of *Anjou*; and on the side of the *Protestants*, by the Brave Prince of *Conde* and the Famous Admiral *de Coligny*; the King of *Navarre* being before that kill'd in Battle.

After several bloody Encounters, and especially the fatal Battle of *Jarnac* (where the Prince of *Conde* being shot thro the Thigh, lying under a Bush, was basely murder'd by one of the King's Officers) the Court was at last forc'd by the obstinate Resistance of that oppressed People, who were afterwards headed by *Henry* the young Prince of *Navarre*, to make Peace with the *Protestants*, whose Privileges were confirm'd and enlarg'd. But by that true Popish Peace, the Court intended, and soon effected such a fatal Overthrow to the too credulous *Protestants*, as all their Strength and Policy could not effect in the three preceding Wars.

The Popish Clergy never scruple to profane the most Sacred Bonds, Religious or Natural, for attaining their pernicious Ends. The *Protestants* were for a time cajol'd in such a manner, that those of the Roman Catholics

Catholicks who were not admitted into the Secret, began to suspect the King was turn'd *Hugonot*. The Admiral was become his prime Favourite, and had Orders to prepare an Army which he was to lead into *Flanders* against the *Spaniards*. And for the better alluring all the Chiefs of the *Protestants* into the Net, they were invited to *Paris*, to the Celebration of the Nuptial Ceremonies of *Margaret of Valois* the King's Sister, given in Marriage to *Henry*, now become King of *Navarre*, by the Death of his Mother *Queen Jeane*.

The Marriage of that Princess was accordingly solemniz'd with all imaginable Magnificence, and before five days were past, her Marriage-Bed profan'd with the Blood of her Husband's dearest Friends, murder'd in her sight; as he himself had been, if she had not preserv'd him. For the truth of which, I appeal to a Book intitled, *Memoirs of Margaret of Valois*, &c. of which she is acknowledg'd by all *France* to have been the Author; wherein she gives an account, *That the Night before the Massacre, being in company with the Queen Mother and the Dutchess of Lorain; the Queen intimated to her Daughter, That she had been inform'd her Husband was not a MAN, desiring to know her Sentiments about it. To which Queen Margaret made answer in great surprize, That she did not well understand her Majesty's Meaning, but however, such as he was, she was not inclin'd to part with him, since it had been the Pleasure of their Superiours to unite them.*

The Design of this Question is evident, if the Circumstances be duly consider'd; viz. That nothing but such a Pretence was wanting to end that poor Prince's days. And that their Plot was such, is further apparent from another Passage at the same time. For the Queen Mother desiring her Daughter of *Navarre* to go to bed, and she being about to depart (being kept ignorant of the intended Massacre, lest she should have reveal'd it to her Husband) her Sister of *Lorain* not able to dissemble her Grief and Fear, cry'd out, *Oh Lord, Sister don't go!* Which put the other in terrible apprehensions, tho she knew not well of what, till next morning that her Apartment was fill'd with the dead Carcases of her Husband's greatest Intimates.

There perish'd that night in *Paris* besides the Brave Admiral, about 6000 of the principal Men of the *Protestants*; and at the same time about 100000 (if I rightly remember) in other places of the Kingdom. Nay, so barbarous did the thing appear to Men of Honour, that when the King's Order was produc'd to a certain Governour in the South of *France*, commanding the Garison to put those of the Protestant Religion to the Sword, that truly generous Gentleman bid the Messenger tell his Master, That he had some hundreds of Soldiers ready to venture their Lives in his Majesty's Service; but there being ne'er a Hangman in the place, he could not put that Command in execution.

About two years after, the King of *Navarre* and the young Prince of *Conde* made their escape from *Paris*, and retir'd to the remotest Parts of the Kingdom, leaving the Court in great perplexity.

But see the unavoidable Judgment of God! The King, under the Guilt and Horrour of so much innocent Blood so ignominiously spilt, began to be afraid of every body; and of none more than his own Relations and Accomplices in that horrid Massacre. And becoming more particularly jealous of the great Reputation his Brother the Duke of *Anjou* had acquir'd by his Affability in the Court, as well as his Bravery in the Army, and knowing him to be the Queen his Mother's peculiar Darling; he set all his engines to work to procure him the Crown of *Poland*: wherein having succeeded according to his Desires, he begun to think himself pretty secure; the Commotions of the Kingdom being now appeas'd for the fourth time. But who can shelter a Man from the Terrors of a guilty Conscience? All his Policy was to no effect—He fell sick of a strange Disease, in which when he had languish'd a considerable time, full of Horrour and Despair, he died at *Vincennes*, wallowing in his Blood, which issu'd out at all the parts of his Body, and uttering horrid Curses and Imprecations against the treacherous Counsellors who had advis'd him to shed so great a Torrent of that of his injur'd Subjects.

Upon this, his Brother *Henry* returning into *France* was soon environ'd with a multitude of Miseries. He was almost always at variance with his younger Brother the Duke of *Alencon*, of whom that he might be the sooner rid, he encourag'd him in an unjust Attempt upon *Flanders*: In which the Duke having miscarry'd, as well as in his Courtship to Queen *Elizabeth*, he broke his heart, and died of Discontent.

Henry being thus deliver'd of his Apprehensions from the Intrigues of his Brother, fell soon into greater Perplexities from other hands. The treacherous Duke of *Guise*, supported by a numerous and powerful Faction of prosperous Rebels at home, and prompted on by the Pope and the King of *Spain* without, but most of all by his own insatiable Ambition, rais'd a dangerous and bloody War against his natural Sovereign Lord, under the pretence of reforming the Abuses of the Court; which indeed were many and great, but were made to appear much greater by the Rebellious Duke, who aim'd not so much at being the Reformer of the Courtiers, as the Tyrant of the whole Kingdom.

In this War the *Protestants* were for a long time neutral Spectators, without concerning themselves for or against either side, any further than was absolutely necessary for their own Preservation: till at last the Duke of *Guise* and his Brother the Cardinal being both murder'd at *Blois* by the King's Command, and after their Decease, the Affairs of the League being every where so successfully manag'd by the Duke of *Maine*

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(Brother to the Duke of *Guise*) and his Adherents, that not only the City of *Paris*, where the Rebellion was contriv'd, but the far greater part of the Kingdom was intirely at their Devotion; the distress'd King, tho as hearty an Enemy to the *Protestants* as any Prince in his time, was forc'd to have recourse to their Assistance.

Then, and not till then, it was that his brave (tho injur'd) Brother, the King of *Navarre*, came from the South of *France* to the Succour of his lawful Lord, whom he oblig'd himself by a Treaty to serve in Person wheresoever the King should command him, with 4000 Foot and 1200 Horse, upon certain Conditions of Toleration for the *Protestants* who liv'd under the Government of the King of *Navarre* or that adher'd to him. For it is to be remembred that this Prince, altho he was the true and lawful Heir of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, of which he bore the Title, never was in possession of that Kingdom, which had been usurp'd by the *Spaniards*, who had kept his Predecessors out of it for several Generations. But having great Possessions in *France*, and being Governor of a large Province where the *Protestants* most abounded, all those of that Profession in general adher'd to him, as to their principal Head and Protector.

The two Brothers being thus reconcil'd, and the King being join'd by the number of *Protestants* stipulated in the Treaty, and afterwards by a much greater number of the King of *Navarre*'s Friends and Followers, the Ballance soon began to incline to the Royal Side. But when the greatest part of the Rebels were reduc'd to Obedience, and the King come with his Army within four Leagues of *Paris*, and almost ready to make a triumphant Entry into that seditious Metropolis; the Pope, by the Ministry of the Zealots for his own and the Leaguers Cause, procur'd a Jacobin Friar, who mortally stab'd the King in the same Room at *St. Clou*, where 'tis believ'd the Project of the *Paris* Massacre was first laid, and where he had assist'd with the greatest Heat and Forwardness.

Now observe the most wonderful and remarkable Judgment of God, as well upon the Royal Family it self, as upon the chief of the Leaguers and Authors of the Massacre.

The Plot was chiefly contriv'd by the Queen-Mother, the King, the Duke of *Anjou*, that is, *Henry III.* and the Duke and Cardinal of *Guise*.

The Queen-Mother dy'd almost distracted, and like an Atheist as she liv'd; and after all her own Family was cut off, *Henry of Navarre*, the Man under the Sun she hated most, and for whose Destruction she had laid many a devilish Contrivance, inherited the Crown with Peace and Glory.

Her Husband *Henry II.* was kill'd (as before observ'd) in jousting with the Count of *Montgomery*.

He was such a cruel Persecutor, that he delighted not only in causing terrible Sentences to be pronounc'd against those of the Reform'd Religion, but (what was much below the Majesty of a King) took pleasure in seeing them put in execution. 'Twas observ'd, That by that Sense which he so brutishly fed with cruel Spectacles, he receiv'd his mortal Blow ; the due Reward of his Barbarity.

I have already said, that their eldest Son *Francis II.* outliv'd his Father but a little while, and did nothing memorable in his time.

The Reader may also remember how the second Son *Charles IX.* dy'd wallowing in his Blood, and under the most terrible Despair, in the dreadful Apprehension of the due Reward of his perfidious and unexampl'd Cruelty and Treachery.

Henry III. who had done so much for the Pope, was murder'd by his Command, and his Murderer's Picture set up in the *Pope's* Palace, as the great Saint and Martyr of their Church.

I have also told how the youngest Brother, the Duke of *Alençon*, being betray'd and deserted by the King in his unjust Attempt and Invasion of the *Low Countries*, broke his Heart, and dy'd.

Of the three Daughters, one was marry'd to the Duke of *Lorain*, by whom whether he had any Issue I do not now remember ; nor have I time to consult the Pedegree of that House.

Another of the Daughters was marry'd to *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, where she led a short and miserable Life ; neglected, if not hated by her Husband ; leaving one only Daughter, who being made Princess of the *Low Countries* and marry'd to the Archduke of *Austria*, died childless.

Margaret the youngest, who was a Lady of great Learning, and other great Qualities, which procur'd her the noble Titles of the *Minerva* and the *Venus* of *France*, was given to *Henry* of *Navarre*, on purpose to be the unhappy Bait of the execrable Massacre. And because God, who abhor'd that bloody Family, which he was resolv'd, when the measure of their Iniquities should be fill'd up, to extirpate Root and Branch, would not suffer any of the accursed Race to have the Honour to sit any longer on the Throne of *France*, which they had so heinously profan'd ; as soon as her Husband was settled in his Kingdom, her Marriage was annul'd by the Pope : To which the King was prompted by reason of her Sterility ; (and other Causes) Tho the Story says that the good Lady made a shift to have a Child or two afterwards, with a dear learned *Platonick* Lover of her Virtues.

The Duke and Cardinal of *Guise* met with the due Reward of all their complicated Crimes at *Blois* ; nor is there any Memorial of their Names remaining at this day.

The same may be said of all the principal Ringleaders of that Massacre in general, tho I have not time to deduce the Story at large.

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Those who want further satisfaction, may see all the Particulars related at large by *Mezeray*, *Thuanus*, *Davila*, and twenty other Authors of several Nations.

Now as Extirpation has always been the common Threatning and Curse of Persecutors, and that I have not observ'd, either from sacred or profane History, that it ever fail'd to be accomplish'd soon or late ; I have a strong Inclination to believe (however numerous and flourishing the House of *Bourbon* may seem to be at present) that at least the Line of the present King will at last be overtaken with the same Fate that befel the House of *Valois*: For as the same Causes are generally observ'd to have the same Effects, I cannot see (unless it were blasphemously to be suppos'd, that the Justice of Almighty God is subject to variation) how the like, or a greater Guilt, should not meet with a sutable Punishment. And since the great Aggravation of *Belshazzar's* Crimes, was his neglecting to take example from the Punishment of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Pride, Profanity and Rebellion, which was the Cause (at least so suddenly) of his losing the Kingdom and his Life ; How should that Branch of the House of *Bourbon*, which has so far exceeded the Abominations of the House of *Valois*, come behind it in the Punishment ?

And if the good Reigns of *David*, *Asa*, *Jehoshaphat*, *Hezekiah*, and *Josiah*, could at best obtain but a small delay, without any abatement of the rigor with which the Almighty was resolv'd to punish the Offences of the only chosen People then on Earth, what Merit can our Enemies plead to avert his Judgments ?

I know that by one Set of Men all this will be call'd *Canting*: That shall be as they please. I shall only advise such to consider with Attention what profane History they please ; and when they have done, I believe they will be convinc'd of this Truth, that few (if any) Nations did ever escape unpunish'd that had that to account for, which the *French* have now upon their score.

I need neither go far abroad, nor look far back for a palpable Evidence of this Truth : Our late unnatural Civil Wars were follow'd with Fire, Pestilence and Sword ; and we are loudly called now, to remember the luxurious Abuse of about twenty Years succeeding Plenty, by the audible Voice of the heavy Burdens of a dangerous War, almost of the like Duration.

It was an emphatick Repartee of an *English* Trooper upon our being oblig'd to relinquish *Normandy* in the time of *Charles VII.* An insolent *Frenchman* was bantering him upon our bad Success in the end of that War : The Trooper going aboard of the Ship in which he was to sail to *England* with his Companions, told him That the *English* would come back again, when the Sins of the *French* should be greater than theirs. How our accounts stand that way now, God only knows. But I would fain hope, that

that bad as we are, we do not exceed that profligate Nation in Vice and Wickedness.

The *French* Court at least (if not the People) has had a flagrant time on't during this long Reign; and as their Prosperities have been for the most part owing to something else much more than to their Virtue, 'tis likely they must account for them.

Hitherto you see the Protestants acted like Men, and upon Principles of Liberty and Courage, nor were ever for the Court till the Court was first for them. But as the Kindness of the antient Emperors open'd a Door to the Corruption and Ruin of the Primitive Church, just so may those of the Reform'd Religion in *France* date the Commencement of their Decrease, from the day that their *Grandeess* became qualify'd for Court-Preferments.

Not that they were in any danger under *Henry IV.* He had left them indeed himself in outward Appearance; and it cannot be suppos'd that a Prince of his great Qualifications, and of such an Education as was given him, could be a sincere Convert from the *Protestant Religion*, to one so full of Absurdities and Contradictions: yet so well did he dissemble his true Sentiments, that for a long time the Papists believ'd him a thorow-pac'd Profelyte.

As for the Favours he confer'd upon the *Protestants*, and the legal Establishment he gave them, whereby they were almost in all things on an equal foot with the *Papists*, and had a very regular Church-Polity and Discipline; these were things which none but the opposite Clergy did envy them, and for the granting of which the King alledg'd such convincing Reasons of Policy and Interest of State, as sufficiently satisfy'd their greatest Enemies.

Three things are suppos'd to have administred such Grounds of Suspicion of the Sincerity of that King's Conversion to the *Roman Religion*, as gave occasion to his Fall, viz.

1. The retaining about his Person, and admitting to his greatest Intimacy several of the *Protestants*, especially the Duke of *Sully*.

2. 'Tis thought that he was indeed the Man that reveal'd to our King *James I.* the Conspiracy, commonly call'd the *Gunpowder Treason*, which had been communicated to him by the *French Jesuits*, who did not then doubt his Affection to their Faith; and that the Letter said to have been sent to the Lord *Monteagle*, was only a Pretence to avoid any Suspicion of King *Henry's* having spoil'd the Design: which coming at last to the knowledg of that shrewd Society, which has commonly very good Intelligence, they resolv'd not to forgive him.

3. The third thing was the Preparations he had made for invading the Empire, to assist the *Protestant* Princes of *Germany* against the Emperor; for the House of *Austria* being then more powerful, and withal the best *Catholicks*, the Pope was intirely at their Devotion.

In short, this Great Prince being taken off, by the audacious Hand of a Disciple of the Society of *Jesús* (as they profanely call themselves) and the young King *Lewis XIII.* left to the Care of another *Italian* Queen; they did not forget to instil into his tender Breast such Principles of Enmity to the *Protestants*, as might dispose him to effect the utter Subversion of all their Rights and Privileges: which he accordingly undertook by the Direction of the Cardinal of *Richlieu*, as soon as he was in a condition to do it.

And here again whoever will observe what a noble stand the *Protestants* of *France* made for their Privileges, what a tedious War they maintain'd under the Duke of *Roban* and others, against all the King's Forces; and how eagerly they struggled every where for their expiring Liberty; must acknowledg they are no Favourers of slavish Principles. The reducing of *Rochel* alone, took up the Court some years; and the Dilatoriness of the Succours sent them from hence by King *Charles I.* and his being so ill serv'd by *Buckingham* and others, to whom the Management of the several Expeditions was intrusted, and whose Treachery was the occasion of the Starving and Surrender of *Rochel*; was none of the meanest Grounds of that universal Jealousy and Discontent, that was one of the first Seeds of our domestick Commotions, which ended in the dismal Destruction of that unhappy Prince, in which they had no small share.

The War declar'd against the House of *Austria* in 1635. procur'd the *Protestants* some Repose: and the great need which the Court had of their Service in the intestine Broils which happen'd some few years after that Prince's Death, oblig'd the Ministry to use them so kindly, that except some few Great Men who were of the Prince's side for particular Reasons of private Interest, the *Protestants* in general were for the Court; and perform'd such important Services, that several Edicts and Declarations were publish'd in their favour, and they cajol'd to the highest degree, and some of their Leaders prefer'd to the greatest Employments in the State and the Army. But see the Ingratitude of their Grand Monarch! No sooner had he by their Assistance overcome all his Enemies within, and got the ascendant over *Spain* with *Cromwel's* help, but (even before the *Pyrenean* Treaty) he begun under divers pretences to undermine the Privileges of the Reformed; and after that Peace, publish'd Edict upon Edict to their disadvantage. So that after having depriv'd them of all Preferments Civil and Military, he at last revok'd the Edict of *Nantes*, and us'd them in that ungrateful and inhuman manner, which all the *Christian* World is sufficiently acquainted with.

The bravest and most resolute of the *Protestants*, in the Countries where they were most numerous, had form'd a Design to stand upon their Defence, and oppose the booted Apostles who were employ'd in their Conversion: But the Inhabitants of the richest Towns absolutely re-

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fusing to enter into those Measures, the Persecution went on, and has hitherto continu'd.

Now I shall appeal to the Judgment of every impartial Reader, whether from the past Conduct of the *Protestants* of *France* there be not good reason to believe (especially after the dear-bought Experience they have now had of the ill Intentions of the Court towards them) that if reestablish'd in that Kingdom, they would for ever courageously oppose the Measures the Court might take, either for oppressing themselves or their Fellow-Subjects, or making unjust Attempts upon the foreign Powers to whom they have been indebted for their shelter, or may be indebted for the Recovery of their Estates and Privileges.

There is yet one other very common Objection (and as I take it a common Mistake) against any Appearance of the Reestablishment of the Church of *France*, viz. That it is not the Interest of the Queen, and the other *Protestant* Powers, to endeavour it: That the Act of Naturalization is a visible Demonstration, that the Court is desirous that more Foreigners should settle in *England*; and that therefore there is not any likelihood that we should take such measures as might occasion the Departure of those we have already.

To this I shall answer in the first place, That I think the Supposition very injurious to the Queen; and must, in respect to her Majesty, believe that she will always act upon more generous and more noble Principles than such People do suppose. Nor is it to be imagin'd, that any Consideration whatsoever, of Interest or human Policy, can prevail with her Majesty to act but faintly in a thing where the Glory of God is so nearly concern'd, and upon which the very *Being* of one of the most considerable and most glorious Reformed Churches that ever was in *Europe*, does absolutely depend.

And of this her Majesty has already given a sufficient Mark, by the Intimation which she caus'd to be made to the *French* Consistory at the *Savoy*, of her Royal Intentions to contribute what should be in her power for procuring their Reestablishment.

As for the Act of Naturalization, I rather take it to be a direct Evidence of her Majesty's Inclination for the Restoration of the Church of *France*. In which case, as it is easy to be foreseen that many of the Refugees, who have Estates in that Country, would leave us; the Court and the Parliament have thought fit to invite others in their room, by putting them in every thing upon an equal foot with the Natives.

Queen *Elizabeth* was the avow'd Protectrix of the Reform'd Religion every where; and in requital of it, God was no less visibly hers. She supported it in *France*, as well as in the *Low Countries*, at the expence of the Blood and Treasure of her Subjects; having by the Assistance she gave the *Dutch*, for the maintaining of their Liberty and Religion, drawn

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upon her self and her Kingdoms the irreconcilable Indignation of *Philip II.* then the most formidable Prince in *Christendom*. And when he sent against her the Mighty *Armada*, which all *Europe* was not able in human appearance to encounter, God fought for her; and by the Destruction of that prodigious Fleet, gave *Spain* such a Blow, as they have not yet recover'd. And as she let slip no opportunity, foreign or domestick, of giving unexceptionable Marks of her Zeal for the Advancement of the true Interests of Mankind, as well Religious as Civil; so is it very remarkable, that tho there scarce pass'd one Year of her long Reign, in which she was not in danger by some foreign or domestick open Violence or Insurrection, or secret Plot or Conspiracy, God deliver'd her from them all, giving her the Victory over all her Enemies round about her, till he brought her at last down to the Grave in a good old Age in Peace and Honour.

And as the Glories of that happy Reign have not at any time since been parallel'd, except it be under her now Majesty's most auspicious Government; and that it is not to be doubted but our present Prosperities are owing to this Queen's exemplary Zeal and Piety, as those of the latter part of the fifteenth Century were to *Q. Elizabeth*: so neither is it at all to be call'd in question, that our present most gracious Queen would act with the like Disinterestedness, even tho the Restoration of the *Protestant Church in France* were really disadvantageous to her Majesty's Kingdoms.

Queen *Elizabeth* prefer'd the Interest of Religion so far to all other Considerations whatsoever, that at the same time that she gave a very kind Reception to the *Walloons*, and others of the King of *Spain's* Subjects, who shelter'd themselves in *England* from the Cruelty of their Persecutors, she was at a great expence in supporting the *Dutch* in the War they maintain'd against *Spain*, altho she very well knew, that if she had deserted them, the greatest part of their Merchants and Artificers must have fled to her Dominions for Protection, and carry'd thither all the Arts and Riches of those Provinces.

But here the Case is quite different. For so far from allowing the Restoration of the *French Church* to be a Loss to us, I believe it would tend every way to our advantage.

It could be detrimental to us either primarily or consequentially, but one of these ways.

1. By the Departure of the Refugees, who would by returning to their own Country diminish the Number of *English* Subjects, and increase the Number of our Enemies (as doubtless it will be said.)

2. By the Prejudice we should sustain by the Exportation of the Money or Effects they would carry away with them: To which we shall add the other Consequences of such a Diminution, viz. A Decrease of Trade and of the Consumption of our native Commodities, and consequently

of the Taxes, &c. proportionable to the Number of the Persons who would withdraw themselves from amongst us.

Now as these two Heads comprehend all that can be said upon the Point, I hope if I take off the weight of them, I shall be allow'd to have truly affirm'd, That the Restoration of the *Protestants* of *France* would be rather an Advantage than a Detriment to us.

There are two sorts of Refugees in *England*; those of Quality, and those of the Commonalty.

There are some few Persons of the first sort, who being of very great Families, and having left their Estates upon the score of Religion, subsist here by Pensions assign'd them out of the Queen's Bounty; there being but one that I know, who has an Estate to carry away with him if he went: But 'tis hardly to be suppos'd, he will exchange his Circumstances and Honours here, to enjoy what his Predecessor held in *France*, upon such a precarious Tenour.

Next to these I shall reckon the Clergy; of whom there is in all so small a number, and so few of them that have any thing considerable, that the Treasure they could carry out of the Kingdom, is not worth the taking notice of.

Then comes a numerous Train of indigent Gentlemen and Ladies, many of whom have considerable Estates in *France*, and most of 'em enough to maintain them handsomly; who subsisting here mostly upon a very narrow Allowance assign'd them out of the National Fund of 15000 l. given by Parliament (upon which they do not without much difficulty subsist with all their Oeconomy) it is not to be doubted, but they would chearfully return to the Enjoyment of their former Plenty. But I am yet to learn what considerable damage their Departure would do to us, in the Circumstances in which I have represented them, and in which they really are. For altho it be true in general, That the Strength of a Nation doth consist in the Multitude of its Inhabitants; yet 'tis no less true, that it is meant of such useful and industrious Inhabitants, as subsist by their Arts and Professions, or are some other way useful to the State: Whereas 'tis certain, that the generality of those I speak of, can be no way, or but very little useful. — Nor will they mightily encrease the Strength of the Country whither they go by their Posterity; for not meeting with the Opportunities here, of marrying suitably to their Quality, or making a reasonable Provision for their Families, they have for the most part led a single Life.

Now whereas 'tis plain, that their staying here could be of no great use to us, so there is this good effect to be hop'd for, of their being reestablish'd in *France*, viz. That being scatter'd all over the Kingdom, they may much contribute, together with the Refugees who may return from other Countries, to give the People of *France* in general such No-

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tions of Liberty, and of the Benefit of Dependence upon the Confederate Powers for Protection, as may settle us such an Interest there, as may be of use to us in case of a War. And if their Restoration be as full as it ought to be, their Cautionary Towns will be as much at our devotion in their hands, as if they were in our own.

As for the Tradesmen, Artificers, and Manufacturers, and especially the Weavers, whom we would not be willing to part with; I believe there are few People in *England* better acquainted with their Temper and Inclinations than my self: and yet I dare venture to affirm, that not one in ten of them would go to *France* to stay there. And I think, all Circumstances consider'd, (except they went purely out of a Principle of Zeal and Duty, to strengthen the *Protestant* Interest there, and contribute to the Reestablishment of the Church) they would be Madmen, if they left their present Settlement in good Credit, and in a good and thriving way of Trade and Business, to go to a Country now more strange than this to the greatest part of them; where they must make a new Settlement, and run all the hazards of it, before they can do any thing to purpose: and all that in a Nation where the Trade is already engross'd by People that have always liv'd upon the spot, and who would easily find means to keep the New-Comers out of Business for a long time. Nor do I at all doubt, but the Effects that would be transmitted to *England*, by the Sale of the Estates of such Refugees as would return hither, or brought over by others that have not yet been here, and would be encourag'd by the Act of Naturalization, and upon the Invitation of their Relations; would more than countervail the Sums that could be exported by those that would leave us for good and all: amongst whom I am firmly persuaded that there would be very few Artificers, except such as having met with Misfortunes here, might seek their Livelihood in some other place, where they might begin upon a fresh Bottom.

The Case being thus, I hope it is apparent, that the Reestablishment of the *Protestant* Church of *France* would be both for our Honour, Advantage and Security, and contribute to that of all *Europe*.

I come now to speak of the Reestablishment of the States of *France*, and of the Princes, Nobility, Courts of Judicature, and of all Degrees and Ranks of Men in general, in their antient Rights and Privileges; thereby to establish such a Ballance of Power within the Kingdom, as may be a Check to the Ambition of the Court, which by that means will be restrain'd from groundless Wars.

That this would be a certain Effect of the Reestablishment of the Publick Liberty, will be plain from the following Consideration.

“ That till their Kings became Absolute at home, none of them could
“ ever make any considerable progress in foreign Conquests, or could

“ not keep them when they did; having always been oblig’d by the
 “ People to put an end to their Wars, when the Taxes grew heavy: ex-
 “ cept that Great Hero *Charlemagne*, whose Wars were just and neces-
 “ sary, and who for that reason had the Concurrence of the States in all
 “ his Undertakings. Which is plain from the whole Course of their
 “ History, of which I shall, for making this Proposition the more indis-
 “ putably evident, take a summary View; and by a short Parallel be-
 “ tween the antient and present State of that Kingdom, give the Reader
 “ a clear and true Notion of their Constitution.”

I shall not trouble my self with an unnecessary Enquiry into the Ori-
 gin of that Nation. ’Tis plain enough, that they came from *Germany*,
 and passing the *Rhine*, upon the Ruin of the *Roman* Empire, under *Pha-*
ramond their Prince, or some of his Commanders, they settled them-
 selves about *Champagne*: and that part of the *Gauls* was call’d from the
 Invaders, *The Isle of France*.

Meroué, *Pharamond*’s intermediate Successor, extended their Con-
 quests a little further; and after him, *Clouis*, who was their first *Chris-*
tian Prince, enlarg’d his Dominions to almost as great an extent as *France*
 is at present. Insomuch that mingling themselves with the Inhabitants
 of the Country, who submitted to their Laws, and took from them the
 Name of *French*, they became one People.

What the particular Constitution of the States of the Kingdom then
 was, is not very plain. However, such as they were, they thought they
 had power enough to depose their lawful King *Chilperic* or *Childeric* for
 Imbecillity and Misgovernment, substituting in his room *Charles Martel*,
 or rather his Son *Pepin*, Mayor or Master of the Palace, being a sort of
 Deputy or Prime Minister to the King, in all the Affairs of the Govern-
 ment both Civil and Military, and a Man of great Activity and Valour.
 To this, Pope *Zachary* gave his approbation, and absolv’d the Subjects
 from their Oath of Fidelity.

His Son, deservedly call’d *Charles the Great*, being a Prince endu’d with
 all manner of Royal Qualities, was the common Benefactor and Darling
 of Mankind; and as he attempted nothing but for the general Good,
 with the Assistance of the States of his Kingdom, he made himself Mas-
 ter (besides *France* as it now is) of the better part of *Germany* and *Italy*,
 and of a great part of *Spain*.

His Dominions being divided between his Grandsons, after the Death
 of his own Son *Lewis the Meek*, one Branch kept the Empire a considera-
 ble time. But all his Posterity degenerating at last from the Virtue of
 their Noble Ancestor, after the one was outed of the Empire, the States
 of *France* did once more invade the hereditary Right of Succession; and
 rejecting the Title of the Duke of *Lorain*, who was the undoubted Heir
 of the Crown, told his Ambassador plainly, that since he govern’d his

own Subjects of *Lorain* so very ill, they did not think him a fit Man to wear the Crown of *France*, which they would confer upon one that deserv'd it better; and accordingly chose *Hugh Capet*, who had the same Post under the Posterity of *Charles Martel*, which he had before possess'd under the Kings of the first Race. But upon his Accession to the Throne, he in a manner suppress'd that dangerous Office by giving it to his own Son. After which he divided the Authority of it into several hands, by conferring the military part on the Great Constable, which Office was instituted by him; and the Civil Part on several other Officers, who could not make such a dangerous use of it, as when it was lodg'd in one Person. And as for the Inconveniency attending the Division of the Kingdom, he quite remov'd that, by annexing the absolute Right of Succession of the whole Monarchy to the Primogeniture, appointing Fiefs and Appanages for the Entertainment of the younger Sons.

What the Method of assembling the States might be at that time, what Members were call'd by the King, and how all the other Members were entitled to the Post they occupy'd there at first, is neither very clear, nor of much importance for the present Subject; it sufficeth that we be sufficiently inform'd of the Constitution and Power of that Great Assembly in the later times of greater Light and Certainty. But to give the Reader a juster Notion of the Nature of the *French* Convention of Estates, it will be fit to premise a short Account of the several Ranks and Degrees of Men amongst them.

1. The first after the King are the Princes of the Royal Blood, who antiently enjoy'd many great and valuable Privileges and Prerogatives, such as the Right of being call'd to Council on all extraordinary Occasions of the Realm, their respective Seats and Votes in the Assemblies of the Estates, and in the Parliament of *Paris*; the Guardianship of the Kings, and the Regency during their Minority, with many other Honours and Advantages, of which they are now depriv'd.

Besides all these, not only the Princes, but the Peers, and many other great Lords, were possess'd of Fiefs of such a Tenure, that tho indeed they held them of the Crown, they were little Sovereigns within themselves: Nay so far did their Power reach, that even the Governors of the Forts and Towns, that were situate within the Limits of their Fiefs and Jurisdictions, were in the nomination of the several Princes and Lords of the Land where they stood; insomuch that even in the beginning of this Reign, it was usual to say, *That such a Town belong'd to such a Prince, such a Duke, &c.* Nor did their Vassals ever scruple, upon the first Command of those Princes and Lords, to take up Arms for them, be it against the King or any body else, it was all one to them.

The People of *France* in general are divided into three Estates; the Clergy, the Nobility, and the Commons.

The Clergy I need not say any thing of further, than that they subdivide themselves into the *Secular* and *Regular* Clergy.

The *Secular* are the Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, &c. and their inferior Clergy, much of the same degrees with that of the Church of *England*.

The *Regular Clergy* are the Religious Orders of *Monks* and *Friars* of all sorts, who have nothing to do in State-Affairs, *qua Regular Clergymen*; but many of them little mind the Rules of their Institution.

They have nothing there of the Distinction that we have between the Nobility and the Gentry, insomuch that the meanest of their private Gentlemen are call'd *Noble*; and again, their greatest Lords must not take it ill that they are call'd *Gentlemen*. Nay King *Henry IV.* who laid a good foundation for humbling the great Men, by confounding the greatest Orders of the Nobility with the most Inferior, would often take occasion to say (when that Subject was discours'd of) *Nous sommes tous des Gentils hommes*, we are all but Gentlemen.

The Degrees of their Nobility are Dukes, Marquisses (Earls or) Counts, Viscounts, Barons, Knights, and private Gentlemen; but amongst these the Princes of the Blood have in every thing the Preheminence, whatever Titles they may bear.

Of the Dukes, some are Peers of *France*; for tho all Peers are Dukes, every Duke is not a Peer.

The Peers were formerly but twelve, and enjoy'd many valuable Privileges, such as their Vote in the States and Parliament of *Paris*, &c. But now except the Precedency, and some other empty Marks of Distinction, they are but little different from other Dukes: The Court having very much increas'd the Number, to make it, by being become more common, the more contemptible.

The other Degrees of their Nobility or Gentry have Precedency according to their Titles, as ours have here; altho they have a Degree of their Nobility which they call *Baron*, they are not in any thing like the *English* Barons, but of the same Station as the Barons are in *Scotland*, where they are only reputed Gentlemen, and are one Degree below the Lords.

Every Gentleman there assumes to himself the Character of Esquire, so that these are synonymous Terms amongst them.

The *Tiers Estat*, or third Rank of People in *France*, is amongst them comprehended under the general Term of *Roturiers*, in which they include all those Persons in general who are not by Birth Gentlemen, or made so by the King's Patents, or who are not entitled to that Quality by their Service in the Army, or some Post, Imployment or Occupation in the State or in the Law, which ennobles those that enjoy them. A

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good Bait in that airy Nation, to make the People purchase Places in the Government and Courts of Law at high Rates.

They have assign'd the Title of *Gentlemen* to Painters, and I believe to the Professors of some other of the liberal Arts, to encourage ingenious Persons to bring them to perfection: And the same they have done for encouraging the Settlers of Glass-Manufactures in *France*, whom therefore their Neighbours call in Raillery, *Gentils hommes Verriers*, Gentlemen Glass-makers.

I don't remember that being an Advocate, Physician or Attorney, makes a Man a Gentleman; but, if I mistake not, one that is born a Gentleman, may be of any of these Employments, without derogating from his Quality.

And I think, since the assuming of the Throne of *Spain* by the Duke of *Anjou*, the King, by an Edict, has allow'd the Gentry to trade by Wholesale; with a Design no doubt to encourage his Subjects to improve the *West-India Trade*.

Next these comes that Degree of People call'd by the *French Burgeois*, *Burgesses*, which are of two sorts:

1. Those, who having Estates in the Country sufficient to maintain them, without applying themselves to any Business, live on their Rents; but have not the King's Patent to create them Gentlemen, nor are so by Birth.

2. Merchants, Citizens and Tradesmen of all sorts.

After these are the Farmers, Peasants and Labourers, and all the inferior and meaner sort of People.

Now of these three Ranks was the Assembly of the States of *France* compos'd, in the following manner.

The Archbishops, Bishops, and Deputies of the Clergy made up the first.

The Princes, and Peers, and Deputies of the Gentry form'd the second.

And the third was compos'd of the Deputies of the Cities, Towns and Commonalties.

These sat all and voted in one House, made and repeal'd Laws, redress'd Grievances, levy'd Taxes, and three times alter'd the Succession of the Crown, viz. from the Line of *Pharamond* to that of *Charles Martel*, from his to that of *Hugh Capet*, and from *Henry IV.* to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*; and would, after his Death, have totally alienated the Crown, if King *Henry* had not at last dispers'd them.

And because the States of that vast Kingdom could not, without great Inconveniencies, be assembled on every small occasion, the Parliament of *Paris* was intrusted in their Absence with some part of their Authority; such as making Remonstrances for the Reformation of Grievances, and sometimes reforming them themselves; opposing the Encroachments of the Ministry, especially in the Minority of their Princes; verifying or approving

approving of the King's Edicts for creating of Offices, and levying small Subsidies, and many other things of that nature which were entrusted to the management of that August Assembly, which by its Constitution is a sort of amphibious Court of State and Judicature, consisting in all of about 200 Presidents and Judges, divided into several Houses or Chambers, which upon extraordinary Occasions meet and sit all together in one great Room, where the Princes also, and the Peers of the Kingdom have their Places.

From this great Court in former times there was no Appeal, but all Appeals were made to it from inferior Courts of Law, in Causes depending between Man and Man, or between the King and the Subject; and from it on some very extraordinary Occasions, Appeals were made to the States of the Kingdom only. Nor were the Royal Edicts binding on the People, till enregistred and approv'd by them; neither were they in any such dependence upon the Court, as to be in pain for the Resentment of the Ministry upon their Non-compliance: nor did the People ever fail to stand by the Parliament, whom they always look'd upon as their Guardians and Protectors from the arbitrary Impositions of the Court; as indeed they were, till they had no longer any power to be so.

And as this Parliament had a great share of the Direction of Affairs at *Paris*, so in the other Provinces the respective Parliaments had the Revival, and the Power of approving or denying their Approbation to the Edicts sent them from the Court; which if in their Judgment they had not a tendency to the Service of the King, and the Good of the People, they oftentimes refus'd to enregister: whereas now the King's Council of State is the *Dernier Resort*, from which there lies no Appeal in any Cause whatsoever, and where the Authority of the Parliament of *Paris* is no more regarded, than that of the meanest Country Steward.

Such in antient times was the free and happy Constitution of the Kingdom of *France*: I shall now observe by what Steps and Methods it has been overturn'd, and what Effects the Loss of the People's Liberty has had; and then leave it to the Judgment of any rational Man, whether it be not very probable, that the Restitution of their Privileges would be the strongest Pledg of *Europe's* Quiet and Repose.

Upon the extinction of the Males of the first Branch of the *Capetian* Race, and the Succession of *Philip of Valois* to the Crown, there ensu'd bloody Wars between that Prince and his Son King *John*, and *Edward III.* King of *England*, and Duke of *Normandy* and *Guienne*, who was *Philip's* Competitor for the Kingdom, in the Right of his Mother, who was a Daughter of *France*, and in bar of whose Right the *French* trump up the Story of their Salick Law; which if there be any such thing in nature, is thought by Authors of the best Authority to have no relation to the Crown of *France*.

In these Wars *Edward* came always off victorious ; and his Son *Edward*, commonly call'd *The Black Prince*, took Prisoners at the Battle of *Poitiers* King *John* and his Son *Philip*, afterwards Duke of *Burgundy*.

The Confusions that hapned in *England* after the Death of *Edward III.* who outliv'd his brave Son the Black Prince, gave time to the *French* to breath, till the Reign of *Charles VI.* when *Henry V.* being come to the Throne of *England*, prosecuted his Title to the Crown of *France*, and at last came to an Agreement with *Charles VI.* whose Daughter he marry'd, That he the said *Charles* (who was almost thirty years in a Phrenzy, and was so at that time, tho he had some lucid Intervals) should enjoy the Crown during his Life, after which it should descend to *Henry* and his Heirs ; and that in the mean time *Henry* should take upon him the Administration in the King's Name. Which he accordingly did, and forc'd the Dauphin (afterwards *Charles VII.* who had been disinherited by his Father) into the Province of *Berry*, having conquer'd the Country as far as *Orleans*.

Charles VI. being dead, and *Henry V.* dying a few days after him, the Dauphin was by his Adherents soon after consecrated at *Rheims*, and *Henry VI.* was by his Uncle the Duke of *Bedford* carry'd to *Paris*, and there crown'd King.

But that Prince having lost his best Support the brave Duke of *Bedford*, and Disorders growing apace upon him at home, the *English*, after an obstinate Resistance, were outed of *Normandy*, *Guienne*, and all *France*, except *Calais* and some few Places thereabouts.

And now King *Charles* having still at his Command the Army which had perform'd such great Exploits, began to be no less fear'd than he had been before belov'd by the People. But after that Prince's Death, they had a shrewder Task to deal with his undutiful Son *Lewis XI.* the great Prototype of the present King, to whom the Cunning of that subtle Prince, and the Ambition of his Grandfather *Henry IV.* were from his Infancy propos'd as the most worthy Objects of his Imitation.

So impatient was this *Lewis XI.* to tast of the Sweetness of Command, that in his Father's Life-time he pretended the Sovereignty of *Dauphine*, where he actually promoted a Rebellion, and afterwards retir'd into the Duke of *Burgundy's* Dominions in *Flanders*, where he resided several years ; and yet behav'd himself (tho then but a Refugee in a strange Country) with so much Haughtiness and Inconstancy, that *Charles the Bold*, Count of *Charolois*, and afterwards Duke of *Burgundy*, a Prince of a great and generous Soul, conceiv'd the greatest Hatred and Aversion imaginable to him, but notwithstanding us'd him with much Humanity and good Nature.

No sooner did he ascend the Throne, but the Court and the whole Kingdom, as well as the neighbouring Princes, were full of Discontent, and nothing to be heard but Complaints of his Violence, Deceit and In-

justice, inſomuch that a very formidable Combination was form'd againſt him, under the name of *The League of the Publick Good*.

The Head of this League was the Duke of *Berry*, the King's own Brother, who upon his taking the Field publiſh'd a Manifeſto, wherein complaining of the many Grievances and Oppreſſions under which the Kingdom labour'd, he ſummon'd the Duke of *Burgundy*, as *Dean of the Peers of France*, to come to his Aſſiſtance: and accordingly while *Charles the Bold*, that Duke's Son (the Father being of a great Age) appear'd on one hand at the head of a gallant Army, with which he entirely defeated *Lewis's Forces* at the Battle of *Montleheri*; ſoon after that the Duke of *Britany* rais'd a conſiderable Army to act in conjunction with the Duke of *Berry*, with whom were join'd the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Anjou*, and *Bourbon*, all three of the Royal Family and very nearly related to the Crown; and with them alſo many others of the greateſt Men of the Nation, ſuch as the Duke of *Angoulême*, the Count of *Dunois*, the Count of *St. Paul*, the *Marſhal de Lobeac*, the Lords of *Beuil* and *Ambaiſe*, the Count of *Dammartin*, and others.

After the Defeat of his Forces at *Montleheri*, *Lewis* durſt not ſet his Head out of *Paris*, nor was he very ſafe within it. However, in the deſperate State of his Affairs, he thought beſt by his Preſence to keep that great *Metropolis* in his Obedience. And finding no other way to prevent his Ruin, he exerted all the Policy and Subtlety imaginable to ward off ſo terrible a Blow. And ſo great a Maſter was he in the Art of Diſſimulation, which he reckon'd the Chief of all the Royal Virtues, that not this Treaty only, but his whole Life is one Inſtance of it.

And as one of his principal Maxims was, To keep no Treaty, Oath or Contract, how ſolemn ſoever, any longer than it might be for his Intereſt to do it, he reſolv'd to grant the Confederates all they ask'd; nay his Bounty did even exceed their Expectation: But they did not know, till it was too late, that they were the real Victims of his ſeeming Generoſity.

As for the redreſſing of publick Grievances in general, he freely conſented, That thirty ſix Deputies ſhould be choſen out of the three Eſtates of the Kingdom, who ſhould rectify every thing as they thought fit, ſuppreſs all new Taxes, and bring Matters to what Settlement they pleas'd; from which there ſhould be no Appeal nor Reviſion. And as the Princes and great Lords complain'd of the unneceſſary and expenſive Attendance they were oblig'd to give at Court, it was agreed that they ſhould not come but when they themſelves thought fit. Nay, he came even that length, to approve of the League, tho' it was intended againſt himſelf.

His Conceſſions to each particular Grandee were ſo extraordinary, that I ſhould think they had reaſon to ſuſpect that a Prince of his Tem-

per (which was very covetous) did not intend to part with such Menfels without a valuable Consideration. And therefore I believe the Allies, that are now engag'd in the War against the *French*, would do well not only to exact what Conditions may be reasonably insisted on for a Peace with them, but to be very well satisfy'd in the Security to be given for the Observation of these Conditions. This will be plain from the Behaviour and Management of this King *Lewis XI.* which has been so exactly copy'd by his Successor *Lewis XIV.*

To his Brother the Duke of *Berry*, he gave no less than the Dutchy of *Normandy*. He oblig'd himself to assist the Duke of *Orleans* in recovering the Dutchy of *Milan*, to which he had Pretensions; and promis'd to entertain 20000 Men for the Service of the Duke of *Anjou*, in the Conquest of *Naples* and *Genoa*, to which he laid Claim. He gave the Duke of *Bourbon* the * *Tailles* of *Auvergne* and the *Bourbonnois*, and promis'd him the first Imployment that should be vacant to his Liking in the Kingdom. He reimburs'd the Duke of *Angoulesme* a great Sum paid for his Ransom at the Battle of *Agincourt*. He marry'd the Count of *Longueville* Son to the Count of *Dunois*, to the Princess *Agnes* Daughter to the Duke of *Savoy*, and undertook to pay her Portion. The Count of *Dunois* himself was made General of the (imaginary) Army that was to conquer *Milan*. The Count of *St. Paul* was made High Constable of *France*, the Town of *Epinal* was deliver'd up to the Marshal of *Burgundy*, who was Prince of *Neuchatel* and *Vallangin*: And in short, all the rest of the Lords and Gentlemen of the League in general, were gratify'd with Pensions, Governments, Grants of Crown Lands, Places and Preferments at Court, in the Law, and in the Army, to their full Satisfaction.

As for the two great Pillars and Authors of the League, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Britany*, they had as ample Satisfaction as any of the others.

The Duke of *Burgundy* had the Countys of *Ponthieu*, *Peronne*, *Montdidier*, *St. Quintin*, and several other Towns in *Picardy*, which were of great Importance to that Prince, for securing a Communication between the *Low Countries* and his other Dominions. And the Duke of *Britany* had the County of *Montfort* yielded to him by the King, who likewise for ever renounc'd the four imperious Demands which had been made to the Duke by *Morvilliers* the Chancellor of *France*, viz. That he should not stile himself *Francis* by the Grace of God Duke of *Britany*, it thereby seeming he was unmindful of the King's Dominion: That no Species of Gold should be coin'd in his Dutchy: That the King should levy a certain Tax there, as an Acknowledgment of his Sovereignty; and That

* The Land-Tax.

his Majesty should have the Right of Patronage and Presentation to the Benefices of that Province.

All the World will own the Princes had reason to be content with these Concessions ; yet every Man of them was ruin'd by it. And tho the King at first perform'd some part of his Engagements to those of the League, his Favours cost them very dear : For having given some of them great Offices, and afterwards displac'd them to put their nearest Friends in their Room, he stir'd up innumerable Occasions of Strife among them, whereby he not only dissolv'd their Union, but created Jealousies, Suspicions, Animosities and Discontents between them, which render'd them in some degree Enemies to one another ; and so at last effected by such Wiles, and by the baser Arts of Poisoning and Treachery, the Destruction of all their Leaders.

To have a Pretence to turn his Brother out of *Normandy*, he himself imploy'd Emissaries to set some Disturbances on foot there, and then seiz'd the strong Holds, and reunited the Dutchy to the Crown. His Brother retiring into *Britany*, *Lewis* wanted only an occasion to quarrel with Duke *Francis*. The *French* Troops march'd into *Britany*, under pretence of a Complaint made by some of the Duke's Malecontent Subjects. *Charles the Bold* took the Field in order to assist his Friend the Duke of *Britany*. But *Lewis* intercepting their Letters, by the Treachery of the Persons they imploy'd, and putting all manner of Fraud, Forgery and Deceit in practice, made the Dukes of *Berry*, *Burgundy* and *Britany*, separately believe that they had abandon'd one another, when indeed there was no such thing : And this Misunderstanding of each other's Sentiments, inclin'd them all to make separate Treaties with the Court, which prov'd their Ruin in the end.

However, as the Duke of *Burgundy* could not be brought to relinquish the Interest of those Princes so entirely as the King desir'd, *Lewis* upon a simple Passport under the Duke's Hand went to meet him at *Peronne* ; where the News being brought to the Duke while the King was with him, that his Majesty's Emissaries had rais'd an Insurrection in *Liege*, and that the People of that Town had surpriz'd *Tongres*, some of his Council advis'd him to detain the King, to send for the Duke of *Berry*, to summon the States of the Kingdom, and restore the Government to its antient Frame and Constitution, which had been in a great measure overturn'd by *Lewis*. But the Opinion of *Anthony* of *Burgundy*, the Duke's natural Brother (which was that he should not contravene a Passport sign'd with his own hand) prevail'd with that generous Prince ; so that the King having consented to sign a new Treaty with the Duke of *Burgundy*, whereby, amongst other things, he was to give the Dutchy of *Guienne* to his Brother the Duke of *Berry*, it was resolv'd to let him return in Peace to his own Dominions, provided he should first accompany

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the Duke in his Expedition to the *Low Countries*, against his rebellious Subjects of *Liege*, whom that faithless King had the shame and mortification to see wallowing in their own Blood, and to be assisting to punish those who had only revolted at his instigation.

Tho *Lewis* had no regard to Faith and Honour, his Circumstances oblig'd him at least to seem dispos'd to perform some part of his Treaty at *Peronne*. He gave *Guienne* to his Brother, according to his Promise: but laid a Bait for him by the way, which speedily sent him to the other World; having prevail'd with a profligate Priest to poison that hopeful good-natur'd Prince, tho his own Brother, and one that might have done him much mischief on many occasions, if he had pleas'd. The Instrument of this horrid Murder was *John Faure* a Benedictine Fryar, and Abbot of *St. John d'Angeli*; who invited that unhappy Duke to a Collation, as he was passing thro that Town, together with the Viscountess of *Thouars*, a Widow Lady whom the Duke did passionately love. The Priest gave them a poison'd Peach, of which they eat each one half; whereupon the Lady died within three Hours, and the Duke three Weeks after. The murderous Abbot was taken up and prosecuted, but the King commanded the Cause to be brought before him, and then left it to the Decision of the King of Kings, where doubtless it has been more impartially judg'd long ago. However, one of the best Archbishopricks of the Kingdom, four Bishopricks, and several other great Places were the Reward of the Murderers or their Abettors: And the King's Jester, who was Fool enough to be a little free with his Majesty one day, about something he had over-heard on that Subject when his Majesty was at Confession, lost his Life for his Jest. — It is not always safe to tell Great Men the Truth.

The Count *de St. Paul* was one of the Leaguers, and had the Constable's Staff for his pains. Yet when he was executed many years afterward at *Paris*, viz. *December 10. 1475* his being in the League was made one of the chief Articles for which he was condemn'd: A memorable Instance of the small Regard that *Lewis XI.* had for his Treaties. He was then 63 Years of Age. He maintain'd before his Judges, That the Duke of *Berry* was poison'd by the King's Command, and that it was likewise by his Majesty's Procurement, that the Duke of *Calabria* (another Leaguer) was poison'd in *Catalonia*.

I need say no more of the Fate of the Leaguers: The Reader may judg of the Usage of the rest, by what these met with. The Duke of *Orleans* broke his heart with the Disappointments and Affronts that were put upon him by the King, and so did some others. Several of the Duke of *Bourbon's* Servants were put upon the Rack, to extort something of them to accuse their Master upon; but in vain. Let us now see how

Lewis

Lewis kept his Treaties with the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had always honourably perform'd his Engagements to him.

The Duke was a Prince too powerful and too brave to suffer any open Affront. *Lewis* knew that very well, and had paid too dear for his Escapes that way before, to venture too far again. And therefore he contented himself for some time with debauching the Duke's Ministers and Servants from their Fidelity to a generous Master, and with stirring up underhand what Enemies he could against him. But when at last that Prince was engag'd in a War with the Duke of *Lorain*, and besieging *Nancy* with an indifferent Army of raw Soldiers, after he had lost the Flower of his old Troops in his unsuccessful Wars with the *Switzers*; *Lewis* supply'd the Duke of *Lorain* with 23000 Crowns of Gold (a good Sum in those days) with which he rais'd an Army of *Switzers* and *Germans*, which was augmented with a good number of *French* Troopers, whom the King disbanded on purpose that they might, according to the secret Instructions given them, take on with the Duke of *Lorain*. And further to favour his Designs, altho *Lewis* was then in Truce with *Burgundy*, he caus'd his Troops which were in the Dutchy of *Barr* to march towards *Nancy*, the more to straiten the Duke; who resolving to make a noble Stand against his Enemies, was kill'd in a Battle before that Town on the fourth of *January* 1476.

Angelo Catto, to whom *Lewis* had given the Archbishoprick of *Vienna* in *Dauphine*, for deserting his Master the Duke of *Burgundy*, was saying Mass before *Lewis* at *Tours*, while the Armies were engag'd before *Nancy*. When he presented the *Pax* to the King to kiss — Sir, said he, God give you Peace, and your Majesty may henceforth make your advantage of it — *Consummaturum est*. The Duke of *Burgundy's* Army is just now defeated, and himself kill'd. The King listen'd to the Prelate's Speech with the greatest Surprise and Joy, vowing to change the Iron Rails about *St. Martin's* Tomb in that Church into Silver. And so impatient was he to hear the Confirmation of that prophetick News, that he immediately order'd fresh Horses to be kept ready for the Couriers he expected, at every half hour's riding. And the minute the Express arriv'd, he sent his Troops into *Burgundy*, under pretence of preserving that Dutchy for the Infant Heiress: But his Successors have kept it to this day. He would fain have done so by *Franch Comté*, and others of the Duke's Dominions; but was not able.

As for the Duke of *Britany*, when he could find no other shadow of Pretence to rob him of his Dominions, he trump't up the dormant Title of a * Lady that pretended some sort of Claim to that Dutchy, which

* Nicole de Pontieurre, Daughter to Charles of Britany, Count of Pontieurre.

his Son *Charles VIII.* had afterwards, by his Marriage with the Duke of *Britany's* Daughter.

We have seen the Fate of all his Enemies ; we shall now see what bitter Fruits he himself reap'd of his Perfidies in his latter days, when his Conscience began to fly in his face, and torment him with the thoughts of leaving this World, and giving some account of his Transactions in it, before a greater King than himself.

He had been an undutiful Son, a perfidious Friend, a rigorous Master, and an oppressive King. He was jealous of the Dauphin, or at least of those that might make use of his Name, he being young. He durst not trust any Friend, who never had been a true Friend to any. He knew he was hated of his Subjects, who were weary of him ; and could put no confidence in the Great Men, and but little in any of his old Servants : And therefore being afraid of every thing, he shut himself up in a Castle, which he made as strong as Iron and Stone could make it, securing the Walls with Hooks and Spikes ; and so committed himself to the custody of a small number of mean mercenary Domesticks and Soldiers, under the Direction of some few Persons, to whom he gave such considerable Salaries and Gratifications, that he hop'd they would think it their Duty to preserve him, since they could not expect to better themselves by a Change. Thus did he live more like a guilty Prisoner than a great King, who had so far enlarg'd his Dominions, and yet could hardly allow himself ground enough to take the Air. He trembled at the least noise or bustle that happen'd either night or day ; and suspected, when he heard the Gates open'd, that Conspirators were coming in to cut his throat. He had taken the strangest Precautions imaginable, to secure the Avenues to his Apartment with Bars, Locks and Bolts : which gave his Palace the appearance of a Prison. Yet for all this, tho he liv'd in continual Dread and Misery, the thoughts of launching out into an unknown World, where his Policy and Dissimulation would be of little use, were so terrible to him, that he could not endure to hear of it. For this reason, besides considerable Presents, he gave a Pension of 10000 Crowns a month to his Physician ; who having made him believe that he had a Secret to preserve his Life, which none else could do, he became his Master's Tyrant ; and would tell him, That if he should leave him, he would not be three days alive. He had also no small Confidence in a tricking Hermite, upon whose Prayers he had a great dependence for prolonging his days. But at last he found that these two Physicians of his Soul and Body could afford but little Comfort to either, when his appointed time was come for that so dreaded Separation.

Vitaque cum Gemitu fugit indignata sub Umbras.

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And whether his present Successor will go off the Stage with a better Grace, time will discover. Their Lives have had a great resemblance; whether they shall be alike in their Death, God only knows.

His Son *Charles VIII.* was a Prince of a milder Disposition; and besides that, he was not so much inclin'd to burden and oppress the People. During the last Years of his Father's Reign, the Nobility and the Parliament had resum'd part of their former Authority, which was yet strengthen'd during the King's Minority; and after that, the Wars in *Italy*, which gave him occupation enough abroad, diverted him from prosecuting his Father's Measures for enslaving and oppressing his Subjects.

That Prince dying, *April 7. 1498.* without Issue, was succeeded by *Lewis XII.* then Duke of *Orleans*: who being a Prince of much Humanity and Good-Nature, did not undertake any thing against the Liberties of his Subjects; and after an unsuccessful Prosecution of his Predecessor's Quarrels in *Italy*, dy'd the first of *January 1515.* without Issue; having deservedly obtain'd the glorious Title of *The Father of the People*. He left the Crown to *Francis I.* then Duke of *Angoulesme*.

During that Prince's long Reign, of which something has been said above, he was so very much occupy'd in his *German, Spanish, and Italian Wars*, that tho he was of an ambitious and aspiring Temper, he could not undertake to introduce an Arbitrary Government at home; having had so great occasion for the Assistance of his Subjects to redeem himself, and afterwards his Children out of Prison, and for maintaining of his expensive Wars, that he could not deny gratifying them in all their reasonable Demands. And his Son *Henry II.* being all his time kept in awe by *Philip II. of Spain*, a powerful and aspiring Neighbour, and taken up at home with the Design of stifling the Reformation in its Infancy, had not any opportunity of extending the Prerogative very far. I have already taken a view of the State of that Nation under his Sons *Francis II. Charles XI. and Henry III.* in speaking of the Affairs of the Protestants: and from thence it will evidently appear, how great the Authority of the States of *France* has been; and how unlikely 'tis that their Princes could in any time coming reduce them again to the slavish Condition in which they now languish, if the Confederates will on this happy opportunity take a firm Resolution to put them in a condition to throw off that heavy Yoke: which I think the only Security that can be depended upon for the future Repose of *Europe*; since by this short Deduction of the Affairs of the *French Monarchy*, I hope 'twill be allow'd I have made it evident, as I said above, *That till the French Kings became Absolute in their own Dominions, they never were able to make any considerable Conquests abroad, or have been forc'd to relinquish such as they had made.*

By what steps the three last Kings advanc'd their Designs, I have partly hinted already. *Henry IV.* was supported by all the Princes in *Europe*, except the House of *Austria* and the *Pope*. And which is more than all that, being secure of the utmost Devotion of the *Protestants*, and having by his personal Valour, the many Royal Virtues with which he was endu'd, and his politick Behaviour during all his Reign, acquir'd the Love, Esteem and Veneration of the *Roman Catholics*, and firmly united all his Subjects by the strongest Ties of Interest and Duty, if he may be said to have been in some measure Absolute in *France*, it was (as *Queen Elizabeth* was, and her present Majesty now is in *England*) by reigning in the Hearts of his People, who let him do what he pleas'd, and supply'd him as he desir'd; being persuaded that his great Aim was their Happiness and Security, *The true and ultimate End of all Government.*

That Great Prince being taken off by Violence in the Month of *May 1610.* and the Regency being once more assum'd by the *Queen Mother*, to the prejudice of the Princes of the Blood, to whom it did of right belong; she promoted to the prime Administration of all Affairs the Bishop of *Lucon*, afterwards famous by the Title of Cardinal of *Richlieu*; who under the shadow of the Royal Name and Authority, did indeed raise his own Power to such a prodigious height, as was never known in *France* before.

It were an endless Task, and no way suitable to the present Design, to instance particulars. Those who want further Information, may satisfy themselves by the perusal of *Monsieur le Vassor's* and several other Histories of that Reign. 'Tis enough that I observe in short, That having struck in with the Zealots for the *Romish Religion*, who consented to the keeping up of an Army for suppressing the *Protestants*, they came at last to be involv'd themselves in the Net they had intended only for their Brethren. Yet there is this Reflection to be made upon the Story of his Usurpation, That if he and his Successor had not corrupted all the Nation, by filling the supreme Courts of Judicature, and all the Benches of any Authority in the Kingdom, with Men of profligate and mercenary Consciences, who over-rul'd those that were honestest than themselves, it never had been possible for the Court to have so far deluded the Nation into their Measures, as to have gain'd a Majority amongst the Nobility and the People, for supporting their lawless Tyranny. But when once they had debauch'd the Parliament of *Paris* and other Courts of Justice, and had got Judges fitted for their purpose, and dispos'd to sacrifice to their own private Interest the greatest Patriots of their Country, for no other Crime but that of vindicating their own and the national Liberties:

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then, and not till then, the Kingdom was effectually reduc'd to Slavery.

This is evident from what happen'd after the Death of *Richlieu*, and his titular Master *Lewis XIII.* For when many of the Proscriptors were return'd from Banishment, and the State-Prisoners set at liberty; and when the Admission of the Queen to the Regency had given hopes of a Turn of Affairs, in favour of those who had been joint Sufferers with her Majesty, who for a long time before the King's Death had been little better than a Prisoner; the old *French* Spirit of Liberty seem'd to revive, and the Parliament and People, who were inclin'd to support that Interest, had in all probability brought back the Government to its antient Foundation; if by the fatal Accession of Cardinal *Mazarin* to the Administration, and *Madam de Chevreuse*, *Monsieur de Chateaufort*, and the Duke of *Beaufort's* too obstinate insisting upon high Conditions, and refusing to temporize a little, the Party had not been entirely crush'd.

And when, after that, the Parliament and People of *Paris* took Arms to oppose the Arbitrary Proceedings of the Court, they had undoubtedly effected their Designs if the Ambition of the young Prince of *Conde* (who was then All-powerful in the Court, the Army, and the Country) and the glorious Titles given him by the King, the Queen Mother, the Cardinal and all the Courtiers, who call'd him their Guardian Angel and Deliverer, and made the King desire his Protection in the most obliging Terms, had not prompted him to discountenance the Asserters of the publick Liberty, who were then his own Brother the Prince of *Conti*, the Dukes of *Beaufort*, *Nemours* and *Bouillon*, the Marshal de *Turenne*, and many other Great and Brave Men. But that Prince repented of his mistaken Zeal with all his heart, when finding himself afterwards necessitated by the Baseness and Treachery of the Court, to begin the second Civil War in conjunction with most of those already nam'd, besides the Dukes of *Longueville*, *Rochefoucault* and others; he could by no means prevail with *Turenne* (who, except the Prince himself, was the best Soldier in *France*) to be of his side: Not that *Turenne* was not inclin'd as much as any body to revenge the Injuries done his own Family by the Court; but having seen too much of the Inconstancy of some of that Party before, and well knowing the extent of the Cardinal's Policy, the Power of Money, and Effect of Temptation to Court-Preferments, he was not willing to embark a second time on such a bottom.

What mighty Efforts the Prince of *Conde* made, how he forc'd the King to fly 150 miles from *Paris*, beat his Army under the Marshal de *Hoquincourt* in a pitch'd Battle, and how near he was to have entirely

chang'd the Government, is so well known to most Men of any reading, that I shall not enlarge this Discourse with an Account of it : Having only mention'd it in this place, to convince those Persons how far they are mistaken, who imagine that the *French* tamely suffer'd themselves to be enslav'd, and are yet so well contented with their Condition, that they would not be willing to venture any thing to deliver themselves from so much Misery.

We have had before a View of the Policy, Life and Character of *Lewis XI.* and some Account of the Manner of his Death. Let us now see by the following short Remarks on the present Reign, whether *Lewis XIV.* has come behind him in his Want of Faith, in his Breach of all manner of Oaths, Leagues and Engagements, and in his Cunning and Dissimulation ; and whether he has not infinitely exceeded him in Cruelty, Oppression and Bloodshed.

Soon after the Accession of *Lewis XI.* to the Crown, he was almost overwhelm'd with the Members of the League of the Publick Good, against whom he lost a Battle, and durst hardly stir from *Paris*.

Lewis XIV. by such another Combination of the Princes of his Kingdom upon the same pretence, was forc'd to fly from *Paris*, had his Army beat ; and the Troops of the Princes join'd at the same place where *Charles the Bold* was met by the Duke of *Berry* and the rest of the Leaguers near *Estampes*.

Lewis XI. put a final Determination to that War by the Treaty of *Conflans*, which he said before he sign'd it, he did not intend to keep : and the same day that *Lewis XIV.* sign'd the *Pyrenean* Treaty, which totally extinguish'd the last Civil War, an Express was sent to assure the King of *Portugal*, then in War with the King of *Spain*, That he might be assur'd of the Most Christian King's utmost Assistance ; altho that was expressly stipulated against in the Treaty.

Lewis XI. a little after his Marriage, pick'd a quarrel with his Father-in-Law the Duke of *Savoy*, and endeavour'd to foment a Rebellion against his own Father *Charles VII.* and turn away his Subjects from their Allegiance. He was impatient to hear of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Death ; and tho he had confirm'd the Treaty of *Conflans* with a fresh Oath at the Treaty of *Peronne*, and was in truce with the Duke at the time of his Death, which Truce was to last above eight years ; he seiz'd what he could of his Dominions, as soon as he was dead.

Lewis XIV. quarrel'd with his Father-in-Law *Philip IV.* about the Dispute which happen'd between their Ambassadors at *London*, invaded and ravag'd his Provinces upon his Death, tho in time of a profound Peace ; and tho a new Treaty was made, and once more sworn

to, at *Aix la Chappelle* in 1668. the *French* made no scruple to break it again a few years afterward.

I have already said that *Lewis XI.* amongst his other Qualities, was a great Master of the Art of Dissimulation. There was not any Prince of his time that knew better than he how to do his Enemies a secret mischief. He had a numerous Train of Emissaries of all shapes, sizes and appearances, who kept every where a watchful eye upon the neighbouring Princes and States. He never ceas'd his Contrivances against the Duke of *Burgundy*, in *England*, *Germany*, *Italy*, *Savoy*, *Lorain* and *Switzerland*. 'Twas he push'd on the Duke of *Lorain* to lay waste, in time of Peace, the Duke of *Burgundy's* Dutchy of *Luxemburg*, while that Duke was taken up with the Siege of *Nuys*. He effected the Agreement between the Archduke *Sigismund* and the *Switzers*, to retake by force the County of *Ferrette*, which had been mortgag'd to the Duke for 100000 Florins. He persuaded them to attack *Franche Comté*, to take *Blamont*, and besiege the Castle of *Hericourt*. He prevail'd with the Emperor and other Princes and States of the Empire, to enter into a League with him against Duke *Charles*, promising to furnish 20000 Men for his part : but having set 'em to work, he made use of those Men another way for his own advantage. It was one of his favourite Maxims to concern himself as far as he could in every body's Quarrels, which he always augmented ; and without at all considering the Interest of the Parties, consulted in all his Transactions with them only his own. Yet with all his Fraud and Cunning, he could never get any footing in the *Low Countries*, which were the dearest Object of his Desires ; nor did he ever obtain any Advantage either by War or Treaty over that Brave Prince, tho he spoil'd his Infant Daughter of a good part of her Dominions after her Father's death.

Lewis XIV. invaded *Germany* and *Flanders* while the *Turks* were besieging *Vienna* ; and took both *Strasburg* and *Luxemburg*, being in Peace with the *Empire* and *Spain* : and after the Truce of *Ratisbon* in 1684. again invaded the *Empire* in 1688. without any Declaration of War. Nor has he ever omitted any opportunity to conquer or ruin the *Low Countries*, for which he has always show'd as great a longing as his Predecessor *Lewis XI.*

As for his secret Intrigues for embroiling and distracting his Neighbours, by dividing them within themselves, setting them at variance without, and prompting them on to each other's Destruction ; we in this Nation have so experimentally felt the dismal and ruinous Effects of that Policy, that it were in vain to go about to prove it. Nor is there any one Nation in *Europe*, with which he has ever contracted

tracted any strict Alliance (except it be *Portugal* or the *Turk*) that has not bitterly lamented the cruel Consequences of his broken Leagues and Oaths. And as for his own miserable Subjects, how ingloriously has he violated all the paternal Ties of Kindness and Compassion which he owes them? While the Troubles of his Minority render'd the Service of the *Protestants* so absolutely necessary for his Support upon the Throne, that without them he must in all appearance have been undone; he encourag'd them by several Edicts, in which he gave them the greatest Praises, and most liberal Assurances of his Favour and Protection. But no sooner was he over his Difficulties, than he gave that poor People sufficient Marks how small a Dependence they could have upon his Faith and Royal Word.

As for the Pr. of *Conde*, 'tis well known at the Court of *France*, how much he was dissatisfy'd with the Usage he met with, and what reason he had to be so. His Brother the Prince of *Conti* had but a short Life on't; and tho a full Pardon and Indemnity was given to his Friends and Followers, some of them were put to death at home upon groundless Accusations, the Duke of *Beaufort* was sent away to be sacrific'd at *Candia*, and all in general that either had been actually of his Party, or but suspected to favour it, were ruin'd one way or other.

These two Princes are alike too in one thing more, viz. That each of them has had an only Brother. As for the abominable Crime of poisoning the Duke of *Berry*, which it seems to appear plain enough that *Lewis XI.* was guilty of, I believe every body will easily absolve *Lewis XIV.* of any such Attempt against the Duke of *Orleans*, who never was suspected to have died of any other but a natural Death. But if his Brother escap'd his hands, there are reasons to suspect that his Sister-in-Law the Dutchess of *Orleans*, and Daughter to our King *Charles I.* and his Daughter-in-Law the Dauphiness, came to the same End as the Duke of *Berry* did, and that not without his Privity.

Whatever be in this, there is one thing that gives ground of Suspicion that that Prince's Conscience on that score is not better than that of his great Predecessor *Lewis XI.* It was prov'd at the Chevalier de *Grandvall's* Trial, as plain I think as any thing in nature could be prov'd, That *Barbesieux*, the *French* King's prime Minister and Secretary of War, being the Son of his great Favourite the Marquis de *Louvois*, was not only privy to the intended Assassination of King *William*, but had a principal hand in it; commanding it to be undertaken the second time, advancing Money for the Supply of the Assassimators, and ordering a Detachment of Horse to march to favour their Escape. I shall leave it to any body to determine, whether it be reasonable.

sonable to imagine that Monsieur de Barbesieux acted in that Affair without his Master's knowledg.

After this Account of the *French* Affairs, and the dear Experience of the Calamities occasion'd by the manifold Breaches of the most sacred and solemn Ties that Law and Religion could invent and give a sanction to; and the violent and open Claim and Usurpation of the *Spanish* Monarchy, by virtue of the pretended Rights of the late Queen of *France*, which were utterly annul'd by the most solemn Act that ever was made; or under colour of a Will obtain'd by Fraud, Deceit and Treachery, from a dying Prince, by the Artifices of *France*, who by two solemn Treaties, concluded but a little while before, had made an express Provision against any such Donation, as that on which they do now principally found their Right: I say, that after so much Experience of the Insufficiency of all Human and Divine Ties, for obliging the *French* Monarch to keep his Faith, and be govern'd by the Laws prescrib'd to him by his own Treaties; I hope it will be thought necessary to find out some means, whereby the Performance of any Treaty that may be made with *France* may be better insur'd than it is likely to be, upon the bare Security of his Word and Honour: or even tho such a Frontier or Barrier should be obtain'd, as was express'd in the late Preliminary Articles; which would leave the *Most Christian King* in a much better Condition than he was in by the *Pyrenean Peace*. And yet the *Dutch* were sensible, that above twelve years before that, the Scales were turn'd to the *French* side: and therefore considering that to assist the *French* any longer against the *Spaniard*, would be to get out of the Frying-pan into the Fire, they concluded their own Peace with the *Spaniards*, and left the *French* and the *Swedes* to make the best Bargain for themselves that they could. Notwithstanding which, the *French* forc'd the Empire to yield to them the fine and large Province of *Alsatia*; which laying a foundation for their future Encroachments, became at last the Basis of all their Grandeur.

Now if when *France* had such strong intestine Convulsions to struggle with, and before the King's Authority was become so Absolute, the Trade of the Nation not near so much improv'd, without any Fleet, or any Discipline in their Armies comparable to what there is now: I say, if under all these Disadvantages she could bring her self off so advantageously from a War with such a potent Emperor as *Ferdinand II.* assisted by the King of *Spain*; what may not still be apprehended from her, if after the manifold Successes with which it has pleas'd Almighty God to bless the Allies during this War, they leave her Power unbroken at home, and the Kingdom so far from being in
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any manner lessen'd or impair'd in its Bounds, that several Provinces of their New Conquests will remain in their hands. And thereby they will be as able, as they have always shew'd themselves willing, to fill *Europe* with fresh Desolations, as soon as the Alliance is dissolv'd, and the Allies disarm'd.

Now since it is plain, that till the *French* Kings became Absolute, except the Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, and some few places they got possession of with the Connivance of the Princes of the Empire, who were desirous they should have a free Passage to come upon all occasions to their assistance against the Emperor in case of need; I say, since 'tis plain that till those Princes, by rendring their Government Despotick at home, became absolute Masters of all the Riches of that great and flourishing Kingdom, which they can and do dispose of at their pleasure, they could never keep any Conquests abroad, because either the States of the Kingdom, or the Princes and great Lords who were then very powerful, did always find out means to oblige their Kings to put an end to their foreign Wars. And it being no less evident on the other side, that since the Power of their Kings has been absolute within themselves, all their Enemies have not been able to expel them out of their Conquests; I think it does very clearly follow, *That their domestick Tyranny is the Basis of their foreign Usurpations; and that if their Power was once reduc'd to its antient Bounds at home, it must of consequence sink abroad: as necessarily as the Effect must cease, when the Cause is taken away.*

From hence I think it will be apparent, That the best Security we can have for the Preservation of the publick Peace of *Europe*, will consist in the Restoration of the antient Constitution of the Kingdom of *France*, by the Reestablishment of the Princes, Estates, Parliaments, and all Ranks and Degrees of People in their antient Rights, Privileges, and Immunities; restoring at the same time the *Protestants* to theirs, and resettling them in *Rockel*, *Nimes*, *Montauban*, and the other Towns which were formerly assign'd them for their Security: to which if *Bayonne* was added, it would be a great Satisfaction to *Spain*; that City being the Key of *France*, upon the side of *Biscay*. And as it is not to be suppos'd that those Towns can be procur'd for the *Protestants* by a Treaty, except we be first possess'd of them in War, or the Court be otherways reduc'd to the greatest extremity; so neither could the King recover them afterwards out of the hands of the *Protestants*, till they were reduc'd to such Difficulties, as it might at all times be in our power to prevent, or at least to relieve before our Enemies could make their advantage of them.

If we consider by what means *Spain* has fallen from so great a height of Power and Glory, we shall find it owes its Declination principally to the Expulsion of the *Moors* and *Jews*, which did exceedingly weaken it, the Establishment of the Inquisition which occasion'd the Revolt of the *Low Countries*, and the Usurpation of *Portugal*, which (together with the *French Wars*) quite exhausted it. To which may be added as a main Article, the grasping at the Conquest of *England*, for which end they equipt their great Armada in 1588. the Ruin whereof was the most fatal Blow that ever befel that mighty Monarchy.

Whether the same Conduct, so impolitickly follow'd by *France*, will at last have the same Effect upon them, Time will discover; but hitherto there is no small likelihood that it will. And therefore I think the Allies ought not to let slip the present Opportunity, to try whether this may not be the time appointed by Heaven, for making Retaliation to that provoking Nation, for the manifold Desolations with which they have afflicted all their Neighbours.

I come now to the Third and Last Point to be consider'd, viz. By what Methods the Advantages already obtain'd in this War may be most effectually prosecuted for attaining the Ends propos'd. And to this I readily answer, That I think they will be attain'd by none so easily as by an Invasion or Descent in *France*.

If it is ask'd where, how, and in what Method I would propose that Descent to be made, I shall only answer here in general, reserving to my self the Liberty to give a more precise and particular Answer to that Question, in case I should have the Honour to have it put to me by those who have Authority so to do, and may be in a Condition to promote the Design if it seem rational to them; and if not, I shall sit down contented with having acquitted my self of that Duty which I apprehend I owe to my Country, by having adventur'd publickly to offer at a thing which I have found my self a long time prompted to do. To say in publick all that I could upon this Subject, might be of very ill Consequence somewhere, and would do us no good. But because I foresee it may be necessary to remove some Objections, I shall endeavour to take off the force of them.

It will be said, that the Experience of our ill Success at *Brest* and *Toulon*, and the Duke of *Savoy's* Irruption into *Dauphine* the last War, and appearing twice upon the Frontiers of it in this, without any great effect, give us no Incouragement to attempt any thing further that way.

I can be no very good Judg of the Affair of *Camaret Bay* near *Brest*, being at that time in an Age in which I was no way qualify'd for conversing on publick Affairs, and never having seen any account of the Design of it since that can be much depended upon. I suppose it may have been intended to destroy their Ships there, in case we could have possess'd our selves of any Post or Station by Land or Sea, from whence the Town or Harbour might have been bombarded. Or it may be some Assistance from within may have been promis'd us, and not perform'd: For I must believe better of the Government, than to fancy they sent a Squadron with Land-Forces thither, without some good Reason for it, which I know not how I should be able to penetrate into at this Distance. Whatever it be, 'tis plain from the *French* being ready to receive us, that we were betray'd in the Matter by those who gave us the Invitation (if any there was) or by some body else. I shall only say, that I take not *Brest*, or any part of *Britany*, or any where that way to be a fit Place for a Descent to be made in.

Much less would I propose a Descent to be made in *Provence*, in hopes to have any countenance from the Country. It is known to be the most devoted to the King of any Province in the Kingdom, for several Reasons that I think not fit to name, and for this amongst the rest, That it is enrich'd by the laying up of the best part of his Navy there, and by the *Levant Trade* which he has much improv'd. Neither do I believe that those who understand any thing of the matter, did ever imagine that his Royal Highness of *Savoy* could be able to keep *Toulon* in his hands in case of a Peace: And that Consideration no question would make the Country very shy of seeming any way to favour his Designs. Tho I doubt not but we should have had it, if the Emperor had not been prevail'd upon to send away so great a number of his best Troops upon the *Neapolitan Expedition*: And perhaps we might have had it notwithstanding the making of that Detachment, if what I have heard be true and had been agreed to, That Prince *Eugene* was for marching to attack the *French Army* before the Siege, whom if the Allies had beat, I do believe *Toulon* would have been the Reward of the Victory. Nor do I doubt that if it had been taken (tho I have already said that the Inhabitants of that Province are as little Wellwishers to the Allies as any in *France*) but we should quickly have heard of such Insurrections as would have open'd a way for a general Revolution in that Kingdom. Neither will it I believe be deny'd by any Man of Sense that the Design seem'd mighty well calculated for the Interest of *Britain*; since the Destruction of the Ships which lay in that Harbour would have so effectually weakned the Na-

val Power of *France*, that they could not have appear'd at all at Sea during the remainder of the War ; besides other good Effects which such a Blow might have had upon our Affairs. How that Design came to be known so many Months before it was put in execution, I cannot account for. The Expedition was so publicly talkt of here, that few People did believe it was intended. Perhaps if the *French* had not had so much notice to provide for their Defence, the Town might have been our own, and the War now at an end.

Well will some say, If *Provence* be not a fit Country for the Allies to enter *France* by, what is to be said to *Dauphine* ?

Why truly of the two I should think *Dauphine* the fitter Country to invade. As to the Duke of *Savoy's* Irruption to *Ambrun* the former War, I know but little of the Circumstances of that Affair, except that his Royal Highness's Sicknes spoil'd the Design. And as to his Appearance these two last Campaigns upon the Frontiers, I did never expect that it would have any mighty Influence upon the Minds of the People of that Country, or that they would openly favour the Designs of the Allies, as long as the *French* had an Army able to make head against them ; they knowing that it is certain and immediate Death to attempt any Change, before they see a Power amongst them able to give them all necessary Protection and Support.

To this it will perhaps be objected, That there will be no occasion for a Descent, since the Duke of *Marlborough's* Army is already quarter'd on the Frontiers, and will be join'd again next Spring by Prince *Eugene* with the Imperial Forces which serv'd under him this year, in order to penetrate into *Picardy* next Campaign : That the sparing Troops for a Descent would weaken his Grace's Army, which is not fit to be done, &c.

'Tis true there is some Probability that these two famous Heroes may in a Campaign more finish their glorious Progress, which possibly may end at the *Louvre*. Our *British Scipio* has spread our Fame from the *Danube* to the Banks of the *Maese*, the *Dyle* and the *Lys* ; and in concert with his Companion in Arms and Glory, the Saviour of *Italy*, and the other Terror of *France* (whom I would call the modern *Hannibal*, if possessing all his warlike Wiles and Vertues, he were not exempted from his Vices) he has almost broken the Oppressor into pieces, and carry'd the Terrors of the War to his very Door. Nay, they have already pull'd down his strongest Defences, and reduc'd three of his * *Impregnable's* ; and I suppose have now convinc'd him, that he has too presumptuously assum'd his darling Title of

* Tournay, Lille and Menin.

Invincible, which cannot with safety be ascrib'd to the greatest Conqueror, till Death has put it beyond the power of his Enemies to foil him. But yet as I believe it will be allow'd that it is also possible this may take more than one or perhaps two Campaigns to perform, it may not be amiss to endeavour to fall upon such Methods as may be most effectual for furthering their Progress on that side, by making a Diversion somewhere else that may very much facilitate their Designs.

The consummate Prudence of these Great Generals will hardly permit them to expose the Glory of their own immortal Names, and the valiant Armies of the Powers whom they serve, to great Uncertainties. The strong Towns of *Arras*, *Ipres*, *Conde*, *Valenciennes*, and many others are on their way. They have Woods and Defiles to pass, and may expect to meet with as many Lines and Intrenchments to fight their way thro as the Armies of *France* are able to cast up. Supposing the *French* retire before us, they will be sure to lay the Country waste; so that we can expect little or no Provisions, but what must be sent after us from our own Conquests, where a good number of Troops must be left for the Security of our Convoys from the Attempts of the Garisons in our Rear.

But supposing all things to go on that side as well as we can in reason have any ground to hope for; That our Army penetrates a great way into the Enemies Territories, and is in no want of Necessaries and Provisions there; *Picardy* is not a Country we have reason to expect many Friends in: And as for the other Provinces of *France* which may be more favourably inclin'd towards us, they will hardly venture to give us any great Mark of their Friendship as long as the King's Army is between ours and them; except we had on some other side a force to which they might have recourse in case of need.

As to the Objection of weakning the Duke of *Marlborough's* Army, I answer in the first Place, That if proper Measures be taken to propose effectually the Thing to other Powers, we need not be alone in the Undertaking: Nor are we under any necessity of weakning much our Army in *Flanders* for such an Expedition. But if we did draw off a few Battalions from thence, and if they be employ'd in a proper Place, they will infallibly make such a Diversion as will oblige the *French* to detach at least twice the Number from their Army.

Besides that, 'tis very well known that there are some Hundreds of *French* Officers in *London* and on the Establishment in *Ireland*, who would be glad of being employ'd that way: Nor is it to be doubted, but they might find a good number of their young Countrymen now in her Majesty's Dominions, who would be ready to follow them in such an Expedition.

I know that to this it will be objected, That the small Success the *French* Officers had in their last Levies here, seems not to give us great ground to hope for any mighty Number now. But if it be consider'd how miserably the Refugees have been disappointed in their Hopes and Expectations during the past and the present War, we will find that they had some reason to be shy of engaging themselves, without being well assur'd of the Service they were to be employ'd in.

They were big with the Expectation, That the *Protestant* Princes concern'd in the last War would have stipulated for their Reestablishment at the Treaty of *Reswick*. I cannot doubt of King *William's* Zeal for the *Protestant* Interest, but many Circumstances concur'd to force him then to wave that Article. The D. of *Savoy* had relinquisht the Alliance. The Emperor's War with the *Turks*, added to the ordinary dilatoriness of the *German* Nation, render'd the Assistance of the Empire very precarious. The feeble Administration of *Spain* had expos'd that Monarchy to the greatest Dangers. *Barcelona* was taken, and almost all *Catalonia* was reduc'd. In the *Low Countries*, *Mons*, *Charleroy*, *Aeth*, and several other of the *Spanish* Towns were fallen into the *French* Hands. In *America* they had plunder'd *Carthagena*. Some of the Towns in *Holland* began to flag, and King *William* well remembered the fatal Effects of the *French* Intrigues with some of the *Dutch* Magistrates at the Treaty of *Nimeguen*. His own Title to the Crown of *Britain* had not been acknowledg'd by the *French*; and he had Enemies not a few to struggle with at home. He knew what a precarious State the King of *Spain's* Health was in at that time, and perhaps he did not care to deprive himself and his Allies of the Service of the *French* Refugees that were in their Armies, in the War which no doubt he foresaw would again break out upon the *Catholick* King's Death. And for these, amongst other Reasons, it may be believ'd that the Interest of that People was overlook'd.

Upon the Insurrection of the People of the *Sevennes*, the Marquis of *Miremont* had a Commission to raise Men (as was suppos'd) for their Assistance. The *French* Youth did then voluntarily offer the Queen their Services in great Numbers and with great Alacrity. But that Project being afterwards laid aside, such of the young Sparks as had left their Masters to go to the War, met with such surly Entertainment upon their Return, and had run themselves so far behind hand for want of Work when their Pay ceas'd, that they were afraid to venture their Fortunes any more upon that bottom: And that was the reason that the last Levies went so slowly on.

But were that People well assur'd that any thing would be set on foot for the Interest of their Church, I dare venture to affirm, not only

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only that a good number of their Youth would chearfully list themselves, but that such of them as are in good Circumstances would contribute considerable Sums of Mony towards the Expedition, and the poorest Widow of them all would cast in her willing Mite. Of this I dare speak the more positively, as being particularly acquainted with the Temper and Inclinations of that People.

Besides the Difficultys and Uncertainty of penetrating into *France* by the way of *Picardy*, the new Combustions in the *North* which seem to look with a dangerous Aspect on the Confederates, do afford us just ground to apprehend the further Continuation of this destructive War. The World, I suppose, is already sufficiently sensible of the Prejudice the Allies have sustain'd by the Northern War, when *Muscovy* and *Poland* only were concern'd. With how much more reason then may we be alarm'd, when the King of *Denmark* has already commenc'd Hostilities, and *Prussia* in all appearance is determin'd to follow his Example? But, what is yet more to be dreaded than all the rest; If the haughty Temper of the King of *Sweden* should induce him to enter into such measures with the *Turks*, as might incline them to attempt the Recovery of the Territories they lost in their last War with the Emperor, they might, in conjunction with the *Hungarians*, make such a terrible Diversion on that side as might prove fatal to the whole Confederacy. We have already had repeated Advices of the Warlike Preparations that are making at *Constantinople*, which tho they are suppos'd to be only intended against the *Muscovites*, yet even in that Case, considering the present State of all the *Northern* Princes, it may draw the War into the Empire on another side, while the *Prussians* carry on their Designs in *Pomerania*. From all which the *French* hope to draw such Advantages, as have more embolden'd them to continue obstinate, than their Success in *Germany*, and the small Progress of King *Charles* and the Duke of *Savoy* this Campaign in *Spain* and *Italy*.

Nor shall I be at all discourag'd from making this Proposal, by the Consideration of an injurious Suggestion that has been made by those who measure the more elevated Genius of noble Persons by the Compass of their own narrow Spirits: As if no Project of this Nature, however rational, could meet with any Countenance at this Court; It being (say they) likely that his Grace the D. of *Marlborough* will oppose it, as well because (to them) it seems his Interest to continue the War, as because he would not be willing to share the Glory of ending it with another, nor care that any thing considerable tending thereunto, should be atchiev'd by any body but himself.

So great a Hero, rais'd up by God Almighty to be the Champion of his Country and the Deliverer of Nations, cannot without the utmost Presumption be suppos'd destitute of those brighter Notions of true Honour, which will incline him to trample on such mean Considerations whereof inferior Souls may be susceptible. The high Achievements of the PRINCE AND DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, have rais'd his Fame so far beyond Expression, that he can never entertain a Thought of staining it, with any thing that may favour of Jealousy or Envy. *And who is the Man that he can look upon as his Rival in Martial Fame?* The cordial Agreement which has always united him so firmly to his glorious Companion in Arms and Toils, the truly Heroic PRINCE EUGENE, is a sufficient Demonstration that those Great Souls are far above such absurd Politicks: The vast Estate of which his Grace is now possess'd, and the glorious Parliamentary Rewards bestow'd on him for his Services, have put him so far above the Temptation of prolonging the War in consideration of the Advantages he may reap that way, that it is unreasonable to believe him capable of such a Design. And besides all that, his consenting to the Preliminary Treaty and to that other supercilious Proposal of the *French* at the Siege of *Tournay*, do visibly shew that he fights with so much Bravery and Vigour for no other end but to procure an honourable, safe and lasting Peace. The attacking of such a numerous Army in such a Post as the *French* were possess'd of at the Battel of *Mons*, does not bespeak him inclin'd to continue the War; and the renewing after such a Battle the Siege of such a Place, which at once opens and secures a Passage into the Enemies Country, is a visible Proof of his Intentions to oblige them to a speedy Compliance. From all which it is very visible, that his Grace is no less ambitious of the Title of the *Hero of the Peace*, than he has deserv'd the Character of the *Hero of the War*.

But these indirect Insinuations must not be wonder'd at, if it be consider'd that they are owing to that Set of Men who leave nothing unattempted, which, as they apprehend, may tend to the lessening of the Respect that is due to the Government or any concern'd in it. 'Tis they that exclaim against the Just and well-deserv'd Rewards that have been given to that Noble General. Tho let us but consider the Condition that we now are in, and compare it with the Circumstances in which we stood in the beginning of the War, nay in which we stood in 1704. when the Empire was almost lost; and then let it be told me whether all the Gratifications given the Duke of *Marlborough* and his Family, surpass his Merits, and whether the Nation wou'd not willingly have contracted with any body (if it had been in the Power

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Power of any Mortal to perform such a Contract) for a Million or two of Money, besides what it has cost us, to purchase those glorious Victories, and conquer those Provinces and Cities, of which, by the Blessing of God on the great Vigilance and prudent Conduct of that General, we are now become Masters.

I will not enlarge the bounds of this Discourse with a tedious Enumeration of the Advantages an Invader always has (when he gets any footing) over the Prince whose Territories he invades; especially if there is any reason to believe that the People may be inclinable to a Revolt. The Invader's Army is a Refuge for the Malecontents. The Contributions rais'd in Money and Provisions are a clear Loss to the Enemy, as well as the Devastations that necessarily attend a War: And, which would be most of all considerable in the present Circumstances of the *French* Monarchy, such an Invasion would intirely spoil their Trade, stop the Circulation of Money, and render it absolutely impossible to levy their Taxes, which the poor People, who in that Country bear the far greatest share of them, would never be able to pay, while the Rich shut up their Purses; as they would undoubtedly keep their Money in their own hands, as the most portable and least incumbering Commodity on such occasions. And as for the Publick Credit, it could not fail of being intirely sunk.

Of this I believe there is no body who will doubt, if it be consider'd what an unhappy Influence the bare Apprehension of the Enemies late Attempt upon *Scotland* had upon our Affairs, and what a damp it cast upon the Reputation of our publick Funds, which are establish'd on another bottom than those of *France*; the fatal Effects of which upon the Nation's Trade in general, I believe most Dealers of any thought are sufficiently sensible of to this very day.

How much greater Confusion must then be occasion'd in *France* by a Descent into that Kingdom? Or can it be doubted that the least Advantage obtain'd by our Troops, or the surprizing of the most considerable Fort upon their Coasts would go near to overturn their Government at once?

It may perhaps be urg'd, that such an Expedition might be attended with many Dangers and Difficulties, and that the late Disaster of the King of *Sweden*, so recent in our Memory, ought to make us well consider the Consequences of such an Attempt, before we go upon it.

Why truly I never heard that any thing could be undertaken in War without some danger. But if the Advantage that probably may attend the Success be such as may be worth the running of the hazard, I think we should not be deter'd from it on that account. The King of *Sweden* indeed has lost his Army, but most People (nay his own Generals)

rais) think he has no body to blame for it but himself. But our Case is very much different from his, nor are we under any necessity of exposing our selves to so many Dangers. His *Swedish* Majesty's Expedition into *Muscovy* has not (that I can think of) any Precedent in History, but that of the Irruption of *Alexander* the Great into the vast Empire of *Persia*: nor will that come up to it either, if all Circumstances be duly consider'd.

Alexander was encourag'd to undertake the War against the *Persians*, by a Man whom he saw in a Vision, inviting him into *Asia* with promise of the *Persian* Empire. And when he march'd to *Jerusalem* with a design to besiege it, and beheld the High-Priest who went out in his Pontifical Garments, attended with a great number of the People in White; he prostrated himself before him, declaring that he was the Man he had seen in his Dream. Upon which the Pontiff further encourag'd the King in his Expedition, by shewing him what was foretold concerning him by the Prophet *Daniel*. Whereupon that Conqueror, having gratify'd the *Jews* with all the Favours they desir'd, departed very joyful from *Jerusalem*. So that it being plain that *Alexander* was rais'd up by God for the Destruction of that great Empire which was subverted by him; we need not be so curious about the other Motives of his Expedition. And yet I believe, that till the World began to be astonish'd with the Success, which undoubtedly shut the mouths of the Gainsayers, the Politicians of that Age were surpriz'd at the Boldness of the Undertaking.

And if Circumstances be further compar'd, he had much greater Advantages on his side, and not so many Difficulties to overcome in his War with *Darius*, as his *Swedish* Majesty has met with in his Invasion of *Muscovy*.

I believe it will be on all hands allow'd, that the *Macedonians*, as War was manag'd in those days, were at least as much superiour to the *Persians*, as the *Swedes* were at the beginning of this War to the *Muscovites*: And how far the latter are improv'd since, the *Swedish* Generals now in *Muscovy* can give the best account.

Darius was an effeminate helpless Monarch, drown'd in *Luxury*, enervated with Idleness, and utterly unacquainted with the Affairs of War. His *Czarish* Majesty is known to be a Prince of a great and aspiring Soul, emulous of Glory, of a curious and active Temper, and every way qualify'd for warlike Exercises.

The *Czar* has a good number of able and experienc'd Generals, and inferiour Officers about him, who do readily assist him not only with their Persons in the War, but with their Advice and Counsel in all his urgent Affairs. They concur'd with him, that in the Circumstances

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in which he then was, it would be better to imitate the Conduct of the greatest Generals of *Greece* and *Rome*, who never were for venturing much against a desperate Enemy, who might be ruin'd with more security by the Necessities occasion'd by their own Temerity. And therefore instead of venturing his All (as *Darius* did) against an inveterate and victorious Army, his *Czarish* Majesty wisely retreated before them, till he had drawn them into the Toils, from which all their so much vaunted Bravery and Policy could not bring them out.

The Hope of acquiring Glory is a sufficient Incentive to Great and Generous Souls to wrestle with Miseries and Difficulties ; yet I believe the Hope of Profit and Advancement adds Vigour to the Courage of many Brave Men, who might not perhaps be so very ambitious of barren Glory, if there were no other Encouragement attending it. And as for the common Soldiers, every body knows that few of them fight for any thing but their certain Pay, and the Hope of uncertain Plunder. There was no Encouragement of this nature wanting to all Ranks and Degrees of Men in *Alexander's* Army. They all knew that the Empire and Riches of the *Eastern* World were to be the Reward of their Labours. The Generals knew they should be their Master's Deputies in the Government of the many Kingdoms that were before them ; and not a Man in the Army was without hopes of bettering his private Fortunes : Nor were they at all deceiv'd in their Expectations. They serv'd a Master that could punish when occasion was ; but they were not ignorant that he was the most liberal Prince that ever breath'd, and that his Rewards were GREAT like himself.

Nothing of all this was to be expected in *Muscovy*, where the Victors would have met with little worth the carrying away. And if they had, I believe the Men of Fortune would not have been a great deal the richer. The *Swedish* Princes have always improv'd their Armies more by the Rigour of their Discipline than by their Liberality. In short, I think it may safely be concluded, That the immoderate and over-strain'd Attempt of the *Swedes* against *Muscovy*, ought not in any manner to discourage us from invading *France* with more precaution.

That it has always been thought good Policy to invade an Enemy's Country, whenever it could be done with any reasonable prospect of Success ; and that such Attempts have been attended with the greatest Advantages that could be propos'd by them, might be irrefragably prov'd by innumerable Examples in antient and modern History. I shall instance but in a few particulars.

When *Rome* and *Carthage* were both arriv'd to so great a height of Power and Glory, that each look'd on the other as their only Obstacle to the Empire of the World ; the ambitious *Romans*, who never would

begin a War, however much inclin'd to it, without some pretence of Reason, stir'd up some of their neighbouring *Islanders*, who were subject to the *Cartbaginians*, to complain of their Masters and turn mutinous: And then under pretence of giving a charitable Assistance to those they call'd their oppressed Neighbours, who they said had desir'd their Protection, they began the first *Punick War*: In which tho they were the unjust Aggressors (that the Decrees of Heaven might be fulfill'd) they came off with the advantage, and had *Sicily* and *Sardinia* for the Reward of their unwarrantable Ambition.

The Great *Hannibal* was from his Infancy devoted by his Father (and by Providence) to be the Scourge of *Rome*. As soon as he had got himself settled in the Command of the Army then in *Spain*, he resolv'd to revenge his Country of the *Romans*; and to pick a quarrel, he laid siege to *Saguntum*, a Town under the Protection of the *Roman Commonwealth*, pretending it lay in his way, and was necessary for the Security of the *Cartbaginian* Provinces thereabout; and saying, *That the Inhabitants had displeas'd him, &c.* The only Precedent I know for the modern *French* way of beginning a War without declaring it, or giving any other reason for it, but that of their King's good Pleasure, that such and such Powers have incur'd his Majesty's Indignation, *la Gloire du Roy, &c.*

The *Romans* sent Ambassadors to his Camp, but the General was so much taken up with other Affairs, that he had not leisure for such Trifles.—Just the *French* way of admitting the *Dutch* Deputies; who after many days Attendance, had honour enough it seems done them, to be told by one of the mighty Monarch's Ministers, That his great Master was resolv'd to keep what he had taken (a great part of their Country) and wanted to know what Terms they expected for the rest.

The *Roman* Ambassadors went to *Cartbage* to demand Satisfaction of the Senate; where not being much regarded, they very formally declar'd War.

The *Cartbaginians* were Masters at Sea, and their Armies were then in *Spain*, where *Hannibal* knew they must have fought long enough before they could have brought the Quarrel to an Issue. He therefore resolv'd to lay the Axe to the Root; and so having transported his Army into *Italy*, brought *Rome* to the very brink of Destruction, and might have ruin'd their Empire, if after the Battle of *Canna* (where he kill'd 52000 *Romans*, with one of their Consuls) he had march'd directly to the Capitol. He maintain'd himself however at their cost sixteen years in the heart of *Italy*, and could never have been forc'd to relinquish it, if the Great *Scipio Africanus* had not by the same Policy projected, and in a little time effected the utter Ruin of *Cartbage*,
by

by carrying the War into the Neighbourhood of that City : where-
by he at once deliver'd the *Romans* from such a terrible Enemy in their
bosom, and enabled them to apply all their Strength to the *African War*,
by obliging the *Carthaginians* to recal *Hannibal* to the Assistance of their
distress'd Country.

Queen *Elizabeth* weaken'd the King of *Spain* more by taking *Cadiz*,
than if she had maintain'd 20000 Men against him in the *Low Countries*.

Gustavus Adolphus reduc'd the Power of the greatest Emperor of the
Austrian Race, since *Charles V.* by carrying the War into the heart of
Germany, tho with a very small Army : And his Successor, the present
King of *Sweden*, had never been able to force the King of *Poland* to
relinquish that Crown, if he had not struck at his very Intraills by inva-
ding *Saxony*. And what honourable Terms might he have made with
the *Czar of Muscovy* to the great advantage of *Sweden*, if he could
have been persuaded to moderate his Revenge ; which render'd him
so obstinate and so insensible of his Danger, that instead of reap-
ing the advantageous Fruits with which his successful Progress in *Mus-*
covy might have crown'd his Arms, he lost his Army, and suffer'd in
his Glory, by an Action whereby he expected to have rais'd it to the
highest pitch.

*Nescia Mens hominum fati, sortisque futurae,
Et servare Modum, rebus sublata secundis.*

It has always been the Policy of *France* to carry the War into their
Enemies Country ; and altho they be infinitely inferior to the Allies by
Sea, such an Opinion have they of the good effects of an Invasion, that
they would certainly have landed their Troops last year, if our Fleet
had not prevented them. And as we have, I hope, no reason to be
apprehensive of their Strength at Sea, if we will be at the pains to
exert our own ; I think we should endeavour to try the experiment
with them, which they were so lately about to put in practice against us.

I will not here take notice of any of the private Reasons which
might be alledg'd for encouraging us in such an Enterprize. It is not
possible that so rigorous an Administration, such long and groundless
Wars, and such heavy Taxes in the midst of so great Misery, should
not make many Malecontents. As dreadful as their Punishment is
there, we have had many publick and certain Accounts of Insurrections
in several Provinces and Places ; as *Rovergne*, *Grenoble*, *Lyons* and else-
where. Nay of late, at *Paris* it self, under the very eye of the Court,
the mighty Monarch's own Lieutenant did hardly escape the Fury of
the enraged People with his Life.

Now if in the very Centre of a Nation, where the Government is as Arbitrary as at *Constantinople*, some of the People are come to that extremity as to despise Gallies, Racks and Wheels ; what Numbers may we suppose to be in the same Sentiments, and what might we not expect from a Nation so justly exasperated, if we did but afford them the opportunity, which it is in our power to give them, of recovering that antient *Gallick* Liberty which they have now too dearly paid for the loss of, ever to suffer themselves to be trick'd out of it again : and which would be to us their Deliverers perhaps the only certain Pledg of our future Security and Repose ?

To expect that the People without any foreign Aid should take up Arms for the Recovery of their Liberty, is to believe them Madmen. I hope no body will deny that the Majority of the People of *England* was sufficiently weary of the Yoke of K. *James's* Administration ; yet I never heard that after *Monmouth's* death any body offer'd to stir till the Prince of *Orange* was landed, nor for some days after. So unwilling are all Men to expose themselves to a terrible and a cruel Death, without some reasonable ground to hope that they may better their Condition : Which the People of *France*, however much inclin'd to it, will hardly be able to accomplish of themselves, but might easily do it with some small Assistance from their Neighbours : Which I think, were there no other Motive to prompt us to it, and tho it were not so visibly as it is our Interest, yet are we oblig'd by the common Ties of Humanity, much more in *Christian Charity*, and in Gratitude for our own late Deliverance from the like impending Miseries by such a seasonable and unexpected Succour, to stretch forth our helping Hand to our unfortunate Brethren ; who, I am persuaded, would receive us with as much Joy and Satisfaction as his late Majesty K. *William* was receiv'd here.

It will perhaps be said, as I have heard it objected by some who have, I doubt, more Tenderness for *France* than is well consistent with the Character of a right old *Englishman* ; That the reducing of that Kingdom so low is the high way to expose once more the Fate of all *Europe* to the Ambition of the House of *Austria*, by which *France* about an Age ago, even with the Assistance of *Britain* and *Holland*, could scarce save her self from being swallow'd up.

Why truly I do very well know that time was when *France* was the Bulwark of *Europe* against *Philip II.* assisted by the Emperor his Cousin ; and for that reason I shall never desire the Fall of the *French* Monarchy, but only wish for the Reduction of it to a more *Christian* State. It is far from being our Interest to have *France* quite destroy'd, but it will always be our Glory to say either to *France* or *Spain*, *Hisberto*
shall

shalt thou come, and no further. And if we did above a hundred years ago bring *Spain* to reason, and have by God's Grace humbled *France* a little now ; what should hinder us to help *France* when she shall stand in need of us another time ? But I'm of opinion, that will not be very speedily.

It were to be wish'd that the Gentlemen who are now so full of Foresight, and so very apprehensive of the bare Possibility of a remote Danger, had been as willing as they were then able to have prevented the Calamities of these twenty Years last past ; of which tho they themselves were the Authors, by advising the Court to sacrifice the *Empire, Spain, Holland, Our Selves,* and in short all *Europe,* to the prevailing Cannons and Pistoles of *Lewis XIV.* in 1667, 1668, 1672, 1678, and 1684. they do now exclaim against the late and the present Administration, for unnecessarily (as they say) exhausting the Blood and Treasure of the Nation, in a necessary War which they themselves have entail'd upon us.

The Constitution of the Empire is such, and some Princes that are Members of it are now become so powerful, that there is no human Probability that the Emperors of the *Austrian Race* will ever be able to endanger the Liberties of *Europe.*

Supposing *Spain* shou'd have a Succession of the most active Heroes in nature to govern her, it will take many years to enable her to subsist by her own Strength, and clear her Incumbrances, if *Philip* be dispossef'd of his Throne. — And if one method be taken, which certainly we may take at this time, it will always be in our power to keep her within bounds.

We, I suppose, will readily consent for our own sakes, that the *Dutch* shall garison the *Spanish Towns* in their Neighbourhood in the *Low Countries,* which we expect for a Barrier. They will not certainly think it much, that we shou'd put *British* Garisons in *Cadiz, Gibraltar, Port Mahon, &c.* this to be done at the expence of the *Spaniards,* saving to the *Catbolick King,* if you please, the Sovereignty and Regalities of these Places. A thing which I think *K. Charles* can't well refuse us with a good Grace, and which he does not seem to be in a condition to deny us if he would.

Ay but this may in time raise a War between us and *Spain,* for the Recovery of these Towns.

If it does, it must be a Naval War, and I don't see what we can lose by it ; nor doubt but the Reputation that such a War would give us in *Italy,* and the Enlargement of our Trade, would sufficiently answer the Charge. As for the three Towns mention'd, I have been told, they might be so fortify'd, we being Masters of the Sea, that they might

might be made (not as *Lisle* and *Tournay*, but) really Impregnable.

Add to this, That by garisoning those Places we should for ever preserve, at the expence of Foreigners, a Nursery of Land-Forces; by which, without endangering the Peoples Liberties, we should not be left so unprepar'd for encountering an Enemy in any sudden War, as we were by the Policy of some of our good Friends at the beginning of this.

And now this Discourse being already brought to a greater length than I propos'd when I undertook it, I will not enlarge it by a number of Arguments to support any thing that I have said. It suffices that I have hinted at those things, of which I thought it might not be amiss to put those in mind who are better able to improve my Reflections. It were tempting of Heaven, to expect such another Series of Miracles for our Deliverance, as it has pleas'd God to work for us these twenty years past. Our Enemy is by the Goodness of God brought to so great straits, as 'tis in vain for him any longer to dissemble. All the Power of *France* durst not so much as attempt to raise the tedious Siege of *Lisle*, nor give the Besiegers any great Uneasiness. After they had with their usual Fraud and Faithlessness endeavour'd to amuse us with a Treaty, in order either to create Jealousies amongst us or retard our Preparations, and given us another proof of their irreclaimable Inclination to trick and sham at the Siege of *Tournay*; they let that other Key of their Country fall quietly into our hands. And having afterwards made a Bravado, as if they would have fairly engag'd our Army, much weaken'd by such a destructive Siege, when we had beat their superiour Numbers out of a Post which if they had not believ'd Impregnable, they had never staid our coming to chase them out of it; they durst not think of making the least Attempt to relieve the Capital City of the Province of *Hainault*, and Seat of their Ally and Governour of their *Low Countries*, the late Elector of *Bavaria*. They have lost the best of their Generals, their Armies are dispirited, their People discontented, the Poor in the greatest Misery, and the Rich in the greatest perplexity. Their Trade is interrupted by Sea (except to *Spain* and its Dependencies) and their Harvest and Vintage have been very bad these two years past; the Royal Treasury is long ago exhausted, the Crown considerably in debt, and their Credit in general sunk at home and abroad. To make a Peace with them now, without such Terms as we find that haughty Monarch is absolutely resolv'd not to consent to, is to profane the Goodness of God in throwing away and despising his Mercies. The Continuance of the War a little longer, will by God's Blessing make us our selves the absolute Masters of the Terms of Peace. And therefore whatever the Hardships of it may be,

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we should endure them with Chearfulness, as the Forerunners of a long and certain Peace. That unhappy People pays much dearer for a War that compleats their Ruin, than we do for the same War, without which our Destruction could not have been prevented. Let us then imitate their Patience, and the unshaken Constancy and Firmness of the rest of our Allies, who are resolv'd to stand it out to the last Extremity; and never consent to any Peace with the Common Enemy, till a more real and effectual Security be obtain'd for the Preservation of it, than that of the Faith and Honour of the *Most Christian* King, which he has ever made subservient to his Interest, or rather to his Ambition.

I could furnish out of the most authentick Annals of *France*, a very remarkable Precedent for such a Peace as is to be desir'd; which was devis'd by a *French* Prince nearly related to the Crown, who being better acquainted than a Stranger with the Genius and Constitution of his Country, was best able to contrive such binding Clauses as he thought would render the Peace inviolable. That Treaty must be allow'd to be an invincible Argument of the Necessity of my Proposal to restore the Privileges of the Princes, Nobles, States and People of *France*, without which it is not possible to have the only valuable Security for such a Treaty. The Thing was thus.

John (surnam'd *without Fear*) Son to *Philip* the first Duke of *Burgundy* of the Race of *Valois*, had enter'd into an Alliance with *Henry V.* King of *England*, whom he had assisted in the Conquest of a great part of *France*, which oblig'd the Dauphin *Charles*, Son to *Charles VI.* to retire into the Province of *Berry*, and thence further into the Heart of the Kingdom. That Prince looking upon his Cousin the Duke of *Burgundy* as the Author of his Misfortunes, was prevail'd upon by those who were about him, to desire an Interview with the Duke; who coming to meet the Dauphin at *Montereau*, was, by *Tanneguy du Chastel* and others, murder'd in the Dauphin's Presence. Upon which his Son *Philip the Good* having for several years prosecuted the War, in revenge of his Father's Blood, with a great deal of Vigour; after the Dauphin was come to the Crown, being TROUBLED IN HIS CONSCIENCE for the Death of that Prince, he desir'd earnestly a Peace and Friendship with his Son. Their Ambassadors met in the beginning of *July*, and concluded in the end of *Septemb.* following, in the year 1435. the memorable Treaty of *Arras*, which was sworn and ratify'd by the King at *Tours* the 10th of *December*: In which there are many Passages worthy the Observation of the Powers now at War with *France*.

Besides the Uneasiness of his Mind, that Great Prince was induc'd by several other Motives truly Pious, Glorious and Royal, and well becoming the Heroic Majesty of a King of that Great People, to conclude a Peace with the Duke of *Burgundy*. For the Historians of that Age observe, That altho he had before rais'd the Siege of *Orleans*, regain'd a great part of the Towns and Places possess'd by the *English*, and was firmly establish'd in his Kingdom, yet foreseeing that he could not support the Charge of so great a War with the *English* and *Burgundians*, without much endangering and aggrieving his People, and being unwilling to remain under any hard Opinion without Safety * or Repose, he prefer'd the Benefit and Advantage of his Subjects to all other Considerations, &c. And indeed that he was a Prince of much Moderation, does sufficiently appear from many other Circumstances of his Life, and particularly from the large Offers he made in the Minority of *Henry VI.* for obtaining a Peace with *England*; which being rejected with Scorn, he did afterwards obtain much better Terms with his Sword.

In the Preamble of that Treaty he makes a most humble and religious Acknowledgment of the Power of Almighty God in these words: THE MOST GLORIOUS KING OF KINGS, GOD OUR CREATOR BY WHOM WE LIVE AND REIGN, AND OF WHOM ALONE WE HOLD OUR KINGDOM, &c. A Sentence truly most Christian and Heroick, which may cover with Confusion the Authors as well as the great Abettor of the arrogant Titles ascrib'd by his infamous Flatterers to the present *French King*, tho he comes far behind the Virtues of that his noble Predecessor, whom (in recompence of his Piety) God did very wonderfully support and bless in all his undertakings.

In the first Article it was agreed, That the King should say or cause to be said to *Monsieur the Duke of Burgundy*, by Persons sufficiently empower'd for that purpose, That the Death of *Monsieur the late Duke John of Burgundy his Father* (whom God absolve) was unjustly and wickedly achiev'd by those who perpetrated the same, and by evil Counsel, and that

* The words *Salust* and *Repos*, here us'd in the Original, may as well be taken in a Spiritual Sense as otherwise, and seem to be intended so; and then the meaning will be, That the King being (at the Example of *David*) so deeply affected in his Mind with the sense of his Guilt, that doubting of his Salvation, and having no Rest, he prefer'd, &c. Oh when shall the present *French King* be so religiously and penitentially affected for the innumerable Miseries with which he has loaded his unhappy People, and for the Sea of innocent Blood with which he has defil'd as well his own Kingdom, as all the Countries round about him!

it had much griev'd him, and did still grieve him at the bottom of his Heart, &c.

In the Second, Third, and Fourth Articles, he continues to make his Submissions for that Murder, and stipulates for the Punishment of the immediate Murderers.

Art. V. The King offers to found and indue, at his own Expence, a perpetual Chappel in the Church of Montereau (the Place where the Duke was murder'd) for a daily Mass of Requiem for the Soul of the Duke of Burgundy, and the Souls of all others that had lost their Lives by the Divisions and Wars of the Kingdom; the Collation of the Benefice to belong to the Duke of Burgundy, and his Successors.

Art. VI. He obliges himself to build and indue a Convent in the Town or Neighbourhood of Montereau.

Art. VII. He promises to set up a fine Crucifix upon the Bridg of that Place.

Art. VIII. He promises to found a High Mass of Requiem in the Church of one of the Religious Orders of Dijon, the Capital City of Burgundy. All these Condescensions are great Marks of that Prince's Piety and Repentance for his Guilt.

Art. IX. He promises to pay to the Duke a great Sum of Mony, and withal saves to that Prince his Action and Suit against those who had taken, or then were possess'd of his Father's fine Collar, which was of very great Value.

From thence to the 34th, there is nothing but Cessions and Declarations of the Towns, Provinces and Places, which the King makes over for Satisfaction to the Duke of Burgundy; as the City and County of Mafcon, the Towns and Castellanies of Bar on the Seyne, the Abby of Lixeuil, the Towns and Castellanies of Peronne, Mondidier and Roze, 14000 Livres annually arising out of the Province of Artois, the Towns on the River of Somme, and the County of Ponthieu; the County of Boulogn on the Sea, and several other Places.

By the two following Articles an Amnesty is granted, and an Abolition of all Offences and Misintelligences, and Friendship is restor'd.

By the 37th Article, The King renounces all Alliances against the Duke of Burgundy, and obliges himself to support and assist him against all such as would aggrieve or hurt him by War or otherwise.

But observe what follows:

Art. XXXVIII. *Item*, The King shall consent, and for that purpose give his Letters, That if it should hereafter happen that he should infringe this Treaty, his Vassals, Tenants, Subjects and Servants, present and to come, shall no more be oblig'd to serve or obey him, but shall be oblig'd to serve and obey my said Lord of Burgundy, and

and his Successors against the King ; and in that Case all the said Tenants, Vassals, Servants and Subjects, shall be absolv'd and acquitted of all Oaths of Fidelity and others, and of all Promises and Obligations of Services, whereby they might formerly be bound to the King ; which shall not be thereafter imputed to them as a Fault or Reproach, nor any Demand be made of them on that account, HIS MAJESTY COMMANDING THEM TO DO SO, AND AT THIS PRESENT TIME PARDONING AND ACQUITTING THEM THEREFORE.

By the 39th Article the King obliges himself, *That on his part should be made the Promises, Submissions and Obligations for the Observation of that Treaty, in the most full and ample Form that could be devis'd, which should be deliver'd into the hands of Monsieur the Cardinal de St. Croix, the Legate of their Holy Father the Pope, Monsieur the Cardinal of Cyprus, and the other Ambassadors of the Holy Council of Basle; with Clauses of Excommunication, Aggravation, Re-aggravation, and Interdiction of his Territories and Dominions, with other Ecclesiastical Censures, to the utmost Extent of the Church's Power: which was then much dreaded all over the Christian World.*

And finally in the fortieth Article, his Majesty obliges himself to cause to be given to my said Lord the Duke of Burgundy, his own Seal, incorporated with the Seals of the Princes and Lords of his Blood and others under his Obedience, as Monsieur the Duke of Anjou, the Lord Charles his Brother, Monsieur the Duke of Bourbon, Monsieur d' Alençon, Monsieur the Earl of Richmond, Monsieur the Earl of Vendôme, and others, obliging themselves to the Observation of this Treaty ; and that in case it should be infring'd by the King, they should be aiding and assisting to my said Lord the Duke of Burgundy against the King.

Now the Liberties, Power and Privileges of the Princes and States of France being restor'd (without which their Guaranty of a Treaty of Peace with the Allies could be of no effect) and they obliging themselves (as I believe they would be glad to do) in the Form above prescrib'd for the Observation of the Treaty ; *Then might we turn our Spears into Pruning-Hooks, enjoy the Fruits of all our glorious Toils and Victories, and every Man might eat his own Bread under the shadow of his own Vine, and of his own Fig-Tree, in perfect P E A C E.*

P O S T S C R I P T.

HAVING seen, since the preceding Sheets came from the Press, the Gazette of this present Tuesday Dec. 6. together with the foreign Prints come in before, I cannot forbear making some short Remarks

marks upon two important Passages, which very much confirm the Notions I have advanc'd in this Discourse.

We are told that the Most Christian King having sent Orders to the Marshal *de Bezons* to retire into *France* with the Troops under his Command, the Marshal, who had accordingly begun his March, had writ to *K. Philip*, to desire the necessary Orders might be given for the Subsistence of these Troops upon their Route; to which he could obtain no Answer. That thereupon the Soldiers had committed great Disorders, plunder'd the Villages, &c. And in short, That they were gone away in Discontent. But what follows? Why truly as soon as they come near the Frontiers, the Soldiers desert in vast Numbers, and go over to the *Spaniards*.

This is *Lewis XI.* all over. Just so have I told you, *p.* . That he had disbanded some Troops of Horse, and given them secret Orders to take on with the Duke of *Lorain*, to fight against his Ally the Duke of *Burgundy*. And whether *Lewis XIV.* has not thereby compleated the Parallel between him and his Predecessor; let the Reader judg.

I suppose we shall hear in a little time of *Monsieur de Torcy*, or some other Minister's Arrival at the *Hague*. The Allies will be told, That the most Christian King, to shew the Sincerity of his Inclinations to Peace, has recall'd all the *French* Forces from *Spain*; That it would be unnatural for him to fight against his own Grandson, but that he will abandon him, and leave the Allies to do as they think fit. Thus will he endeavour, by giving a Barrier, and promising to abandon *Spain*, to ward off the present Blow, and save himself. And so while he has all the Conveniences imaginable to succour *Spain* underhand, he'll endeavour to make Peace for *France* which the Allies are now ready to enter, and leave them to labour under innumerable Difficulties, occasion'd by the Distance of *Spain* from their Dominions, to carry on a dangerous and uncertain War. But in all this he will I hope be disappointed.

The other Point I observe as a remarkable Confirmation of my Thoughts upon the Conditions of Peace, is the particular mention that the Diet of the Empire makes in their Memorial concerning the ensuing Treaty, of the necessity of procuring the Restitution of the Dutchies of *Lorain* and *Barr*, and their Dependencies, which I had also made one of the main Articles upon which the common Safety would depend.

I shall only add to what I have said above, that seeing I make no doubt that as Men are now divided in their Sentiments upon most Subjects, there may possibly be found a great many Persons who will differ much from my Notions as to the Reestablishment of the States and Church

Church of *France*, and of the Interest of this Nation as to the Refugees; if upon an attentive and unprejudic'd Consideration of the Reasons I have given for justifying my Opinion, they don't find it convincing, it is not to be expected that what I can say here will have any great effect. The Matter of the Refugees is what we are to be most immediately concern'd in. As to which many idle Notions have been entertain'd by those who look no further than their own private Interest, and often make a false Judgment of that which they who will give themselves the trouble to consider how many hundred thousand Pounds we sent yearly over in ready Money to *France* before the Persecution of the Protestants, for the Manufactures which they have now settled, will hardly disagree with me in what I have said about that People.

And as for those who pretend that the Reestablishment of the *Catholic* Church of *France* is a thing in it self impracticable, as being contrary to their mistaken Notion) against the general Benefit and Satisfaction of the People; I shall recommend to their Consideration besides what I have said above, two Paragraphs of a late Pastoral Letter of which the Bishop of *Nismes*, who is a Man of a very great Reputation and Sway, is said to be the Author. His Words are these.

"David, towards the End of his Reign, saw the People afflicted with a Famine, which lasted three years; the Earth produced nothing, and a fatal Drought consum'd the Seed that was thrown into it. That King according to God's own Heart, being sensible of the Affliction of his People, went in the Presence of the People, and other Priests, who were the Witnesses of his piety, and prostrated himself before the Ark of the Living God, to enquire of him, as of an Oracle, what were the Causes of his Wrath, and how it might be appeas'd. The Lord answer'd, I revenge the blood of the Gibeonites whom Saul slew, contrary to the Promise which I made to them. The Cause of the Chastisement being thus discover'd, means were sought to make Satisfaction to the Offended. The remains of Saul and of his bloody House were cut off, God was appeas'd, the Famine ceas'd, and the Heaven sent down its Blessings on *Israel* and on *Judah*.

"We may imagine, my dear Brethren, that this Visitation of Justice is occasion'd by the many Murders and Sacrileges committed as it were before our Eyes. Let us leave to God the Secret of his Judgments, and pray to him, That he may forgive, and may be appeas'd. Now I shall refer it to any Man (who has the least Notion of *French* Affairs) to determine, whether by these Gibeonites be not meant the Protestants of *France*; whose Cause the Bishop rightly judges God is now avenging upon that Nation.

